

26580

V.4
Feb 53
VOLUME XLIV • NUMBER 1

February 1953

V.44

1-4

Vol. - Dec
1953

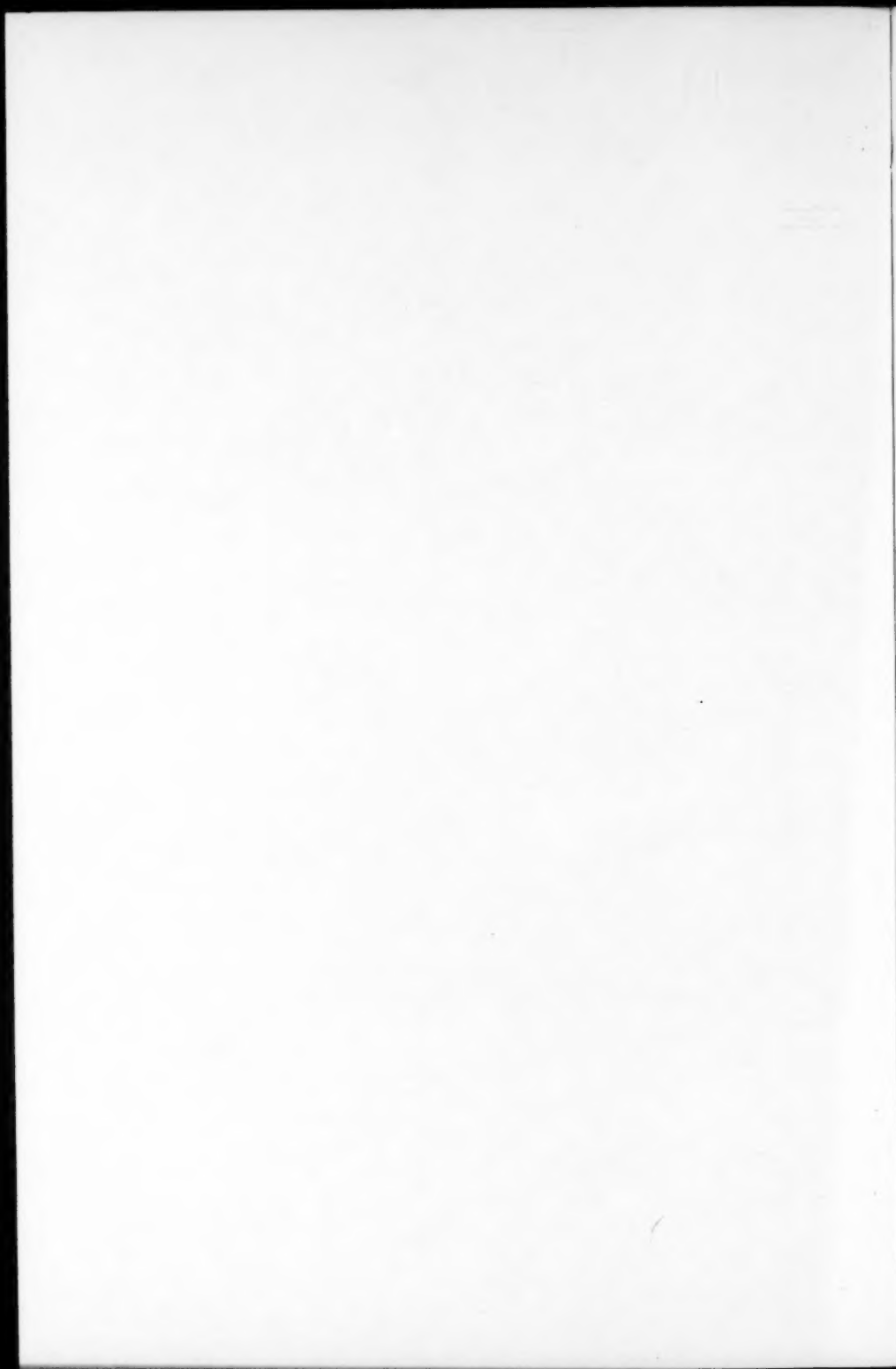
THE ROMANIC REVIEW

FOUNDED BY PROFESSOR HENRY ALFRED TODD

A QUARTERLY ISSUED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF
ROMANCE LANGUAGES IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS • PUBLISHER

26



THE ROMANIC REVIEW

FOUNDED BY PROFESSOR HENRY ALFRED TODD

A QUARTERLY PUBLICATION OF
THE DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES
IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

VOLUME XLIV

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
PUBLISHERS · NEW YORK

1953

MIDDLEBURY COLLEGE SUMMER
**LANGUAGE
SCHOOLS**

Middlebury, Vermont

JUNE 26 - AUGUST 13

**PROFESSORS of the MODERN
FOREIGN LANGUAGES**

You may safely recommend to your Graduate
Students a summer at the Middlebury Schools

1. Instruction by outstanding native and American Teachers of literature.
2. Scientific training in the oral use of the foreign language.
3. Consistent enforcement of the pledge of "No-English."
4. The stimulus and refreshment of a summer among the Green Mountains.



**FRENCH • GERMAN
ITALIAN
RUSSIAN • SPANISH**
*For Bulletins, Information
Write:*

OFFICE OF THE SUMMER SCHOOLS

MIDDLEBURY COLLEGE

Middlebury 30, Vermont

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

A QUARTERLY PUBLICATION

NORMAN L. TORREY, *General Editor*

JEAN-ALBERT BÉDÉ	TOMÁS NAVARRO
DINO BIGONGIARI	JUSTIN O'BRIEN
ENRICO DE' NEGRI	FEDERICO DE ONÍS
NATHAN EDELMAN	LAWTON P. G. PECKHAM
OTIS FELLOWS	MARIO A. PEI
DONALD M. FRAME	JEANNE VARNEY PLEASANTS
W. M. FROHOCK	JAMES F. SHEARER
JEAN HYTIER	CARL A. VIGGIANI, <i>Managing Editor</i>

VOLUME XLIV

FEBRUARY 1953

NUMBER 1

ARTICLES

Lope, the <i>Orfeo</i> and the <i>Estilo Llano</i>	JACK HORACE PARKER	3
<i>Le Meunier d'Angibault</i> , ou George Sand en 1844-1845 (Avec des documents inédits)	VICTORIA CHARLOTTE BAGIER	12
Studies on Zola's <i>Son Excellence Eugène Rougon</i>	ELLIOTT M. GRANT	24
Pardo-Bazán and Literary Polemics about Feminism	RONALD HILTON	40
L'Histoire dans l'œuvre de Saint-John Perse	RENÉ GIRARD	47

REVIEWS

Alan M. F. Gunn, <i>The Mirror of Love. A Reinterpretation of The Romance of the Rose</i> . [LAWTON P. G. PECKHAM]	56
Imbrie Buffum, <i>Agrippa d'Aubigné's Les Tragiques. A Study of the Baroque Style in Poetry</i> . [E. B. O. BORGERHOFF]	60
Ernst Cassirer, <i>The Philosophy of the Enlightenment</i> . [NORMAN L. TORREY]	63
Bruno Maier, <i>Profilo della critica su Italo Svevo (1892-1951)</i> . [KARL LUDWIG SELIG]	68

Germaine Brée, <i>Du Temps perdu au temps retrouvé</i> . [JAMES C. Mc- LAREN]	70
José Simón Díaz, <i>Bibliografía de la literatura hispánica</i> . [HENSLEY C. WOODBIDGE]	72
Notes for Contributors	75

THE ROMANIC REVIEW is published four times a year (February-April-October-December) by Columbia University Press, Mt. Royal and Guilford Aves., Baltimore 2, Md. Single copies \$1.25 (foreign \$1.35); \$5.00 a year (foreign, including Canada, \$5.30). Subscribers should notify the publisher of change of address at least three weeks before publication of issue, with which change is to take effect. Entered as second-class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Md., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1953 by Columbia University Press.

Manuscripts, editorial communications and books for review should be addressed to Professor Norman L. Torrey, Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, New York City. THE REVIEW will not be responsible for the return of manuscripts unless accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope. For all questions regarding preparation of manuscripts and printing style, consult the "Notes for Contributors" at the end of the February issue.

All communications of a business nature should be addressed to Columbia University Press, Mt. Royal and Guilford Aves., Baltimore 2, Md., or 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y.

LOPE DE VEGA, THE *ORFEO*, AND THE *ESTILO LLANO*¹

By Jack Horace Parker

IN "The Present State of Lope de Vega Studies," W. L. Fichter writes: "It is even possible that we have not yet recognized all of Lope's anti-*culto* writings. . . . Cf., for example, the doubt that has sometimes been expressed about Montalván's authorship of the *Orfeo en lengua castellana* and the supposition that it was written by Lope."² The purpose of this article is to consider, in relation to poetic theory, the *Orfeo en lengua castellana* as just that—one of Lope's anti-*culto* expressions. References to authorship, from that in the *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, of 1672, by Nicolás Antonio, to recent ones in Joaquín de Entrambasaguas' *Estudios sobre Lope de Vega* (1947) and Pablo Cabañas' *El mito de Orfeo en la literatura española* (1948), do not include documentary proof of Lope's authorship, but indeed sufficient evidence to convince me that Lope wrote the poem and had it published under the name of his youthful friend and protégé, Juan Pérez de Montalván.³ In any case, and I believe that this is sufficient for my purpose, Lope de Vega, through his words in the prefatory material, approved of the *fabula* as an example of the *estilo llano*, as opposed to the *estilo culto* of Góngora's school, including the *Orfeo* of Juan de Jáuregui, which had been written a short while before.

The literary relations between Lope and Góngora, and Lope's theory, if not his practice, of writing poetry, have been carefully studied on several occasions. Especially comprehensive is M. Romera-Navarro's "Lope y su defensa de la pureza de la lengua y estilo poético," which appeared in *Revue Hispanique* (1929).⁴ For some years before 1624, the date of Jáuregui's *culto Orfeo* and of the anti-*culto Orfeo en lengua castellana*, the battle between the *cultos*, led by Góngora, and the *claros* or *llanos*, captained by Lope, had been going on apace. In this period, in prose and in verse, not excluding the *Comedia*, Lope was giving vent to his feelings. In speaking of *La Filomena*, of 1621, Romera-Navarro says: "La cuestión del culteranismo parece preocupar ahora, más que nunca, el ánimo de nuestro poeta: en la defensa de la pureza del estilo poético, se ha visto tan maltratado

1. This communication is a revision of a paper read at the meeting of the Modern Language Association of America in New York, December, 1950.

2. *Hispania*, XX (1937), 349.

3. S. Griswold Morley, in "The Pseudonyms and Literary Disguises of Lope de Vega," *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, XXXIII, no. 5 (1951), 421-484, comments on the *Orfeo's* ascription to Lope de Vega thus: "Proof will be forthcoming only by some accidental new discovery, and I shall not argue the question here. It is quite probable that Lope indulged his bent for foolery by fathering minor productions on others, as publishers often ascribed the work of rival dramatists to Lope" (pages 479-480).

4. *Revue Hispanique*, LXXVII (1929), 287-381.

por los amigos de Góngora, que la cuestión de principios semeja ya cuestión personal, y sus ironías y donaires vibran con acentos de cólera" (page 296).

And Lope had many supporters, among them the competent Juan de Jáuregui, the author of the *Antídoto contra las Soledades*, written "probably in 1614,"⁵ and of the *Discurso poético*, published after the *Orfeo*, in 1624, but which had probably been not only in a process of germination previously, but also circulating in manuscript.

The appearance then, in 1624,⁶ of Jáuregui's *Orfeo*, *culto* as will be seen in a later analysis of the poem, may have been a shock to Lope. Yet Jáuregui seems to have been something of a leader of a group apart. "Teñidos," Lope calls them in an unmistakable personal attack on Jáuregui in his preface, "Al licenciado Juan Pérez de Montalván," to the *Orfeo en lengua castellana*: "... todos los que escriben estas tropelías reprehenden en los otros lo que ellos mismos hacen, censurando por desatinos en los libros ajenos lo que en los suyos veneran por oráculo; pero no es mucho que no se conozcan, si andan a oscuras: yo a lo menos en esta confusión hallo de una misma suerte a los cultos que a los teñidos, que habiéndolos conocido antes, ahora estudio en conocerlos."⁷

Jáuregui's activities at the time have been variously explained. Whatever the true explanation may be, Lope de Vega and his followers looked upon the *Orfeo* as the crowning blow, and considered the time ripe for a rebuttal. The result was a second *Orfeo*, this one with the pointed title of *Orfeo en lengua castellana*,⁸ with the clear implication that the *llano* school did not consider the first to be in the Spanish tongue.

Indeed, this *Orfeo en lengua castellana* is supposed to be a model of language, a claim which I personally feel is unjustified. The *Censura* of Fray Lucas de Montoya declares that there is in the author "fidelidad en la limpieza del lenguaje, que como Castellano habla como se debe, ajeno de la impuridad de los que adulteran la mejor lengua de Europa, y con llamarse Cultos la desautorizan, y sacan de su esplendor" (page 5).

In his *Aprobación*, Lope attacks the language of the *cultos*: few there are who write "con natural, . . . aunque muchos [son] los engañados de su presunción, que por desvanecerse a singulares han hecho nuestra lengua como los trajes, que cada día son diferentes" (page 6). And farther on, in his fairly long preface, Lope's words praise the *fábula* for being in the Castilian tongue: "El título (a mi modo de sentir) es extremado; con el por lo menos no se enojarán con V. m. estos señores que se llaman Cultos,

5. Eunice Joiner Gates, "New Light on the *Antídoto* against Góngora's 'Pestilent' *Soledades*," *PMLA*, LXVI (1951), 747.

6. *Privilegio*, June 26; *Tasa*, August 12.

7. Ed. Pablo Cabañas (Madrid, 1948), p. 15.

8. *Privilegio*, August 27, 1624; *Tasa*, September 3. The *Censura* is dated August 13, only one day after Jáuregui's *Tasa*, but no doubt the first *Orfeo* had been circulating in manuscript.

pues ya confiesa que escribe en la lengua Castellana, con cuyo advertimiento se abstrae de toda voz y locución peregrina, menos las recibidas, y que blandamente sirven de ornamento al estilo grande" (page 13). And he continues: "V. m. finalmente acierta en apartar este Poema suyo desta tercera lengua, como lo declara el título" (page 15). These words indicate that Lope believes that the purpose of the poem, to write in pure Castilian, and not in Jáuregui's "tercera lengua," has been achieved.

The first question, therefore, which emerges from the *Orfeo en lengua castellana* in relation to the *estilo llano*, is that of language. But before analyzing the vocabulary the of two *fábulas*, it is important to consider briefly some of Lope's main utterances concerning language up to the year 1624.

Well known is the famous, supposed conversation between Boscán and Garcilaso, "A la nueva lengua," a sonnet which was printed in 1630 in the *Laurel de Apolo*, but which had been circulating for some time previously, perhaps since 1621. That jocular tone, with no less serious meaning, satirizing the extremes of Latinized vocabulary and the affected use of words, had been cropping up in Lope's writings from the early years of the century. But it is in the late teens, against the rising tide of Gongorism, that he puts forth his strongest protests.

In the important *Discurso sobre la nueva poesía*,⁹ published in 1621 in *La Filomena*, but probably written in 1617, one of the criticisms against Góngora's ill-starred imitators, who use "seis voces latinas" (page 467),¹⁰ is that "no es enriquecer la lengua dejar lo que ella tiene propio por lo extranjero" (page 475).

In the *Justa poética* in honor of the beatification of San Isidro (Madrid, 1620) Lope's "Introducción" finds that "nuestra lengua . . . casi llega a ser en algunos nimia y enfadosa."¹¹ And using the pseudonym Maestro Burguillos, Lope notes that

la poesía desta edad
.....
... es hieroglyphicos toda. (Page 532.)

The *Romance del maestro Burguillos* addresses poets thus:

Mirad que al cielo se queja
la pureza castellana,
que esté en Getafe el concepto
y en Viscaya las palabras. (Page 559.)

9. *Obras sueltas* (Madrid, 1776), IV, 461-478.

10. These imitators of Góngora are also criticized in Lope's preface to the *Orfeo en lengua castellana*: "... un Fénix hubo solo, / y así no más de un Góngora, un Apolo, / los demás desvarian, / que en pensar que le imitan se confían" (pages 17-18).

11. *Obras sueltas* (Madrid, 1777), XI, 358.

And, finally, summing up, reference is made to

.....poetas esphynges,
buenos para Edipo y Thebas,
con enigmáticas phrasis,
con empháticas licencias. (Page 588.)

The above-mentioned *La Filomena*, of the following year, with its accompanying materials, is significant for a consideration of pronouncements on language. Reference has already been made to the *Discurso*. One might also single out *Epístola XI. Al doctor Gregorio de Ángulo*, where Lope attacks Latinisms, complaining that it is now necessary to follow a certain procedure:

No habéis de decir bien de Garcilaso,
ni hablar palabra que romance sea,
sino latinizando a cada paso;¹²

and commenting:

Que en la corte no piensan que hay más ciencia
que hablar en gerigonza estos divinos,
y andar con la gramática en pendencia. (Page 425.)

These comments are pointed enough. But it is in the *Relación de las fiestas . . . en la canonización de San Isidro* (1622) that the *culto* tongue is attacked most violently. For one of the conditions for entrance into competition in the *certamen poético* is that candidates must write in "lengua puramente castellana."¹³ Among other things, Lope reads *cédulas*, which are amusing, but deep in meaning. They speak of "poetas cristalinos y perláticos" (*cédula iv*, page 164); of "la nueva lengua" (*cédula v*, page 164); of "poetas culteranos, candoreos, ostentones y brilladores" (*cédula vii*, page 165); and announce (*cédula ix*, page 165): "Tres poetas barbados, de la orden de la necesidad, van a rescatar la lengua castellana."

Later in the *Relación*, Lope declares at length what Castilian is to him: "Hablar puramente castellano es usar aquellas locuciones y términos que sufre su dialecto, y no con cuatro phrasis andar toda su poesía al torno, diciendo siempre una misma cosa, con que parecen papagayos de su inventor, o que se prestan los unos a los otros las mismas palabras" (page 233); and he continues, speaking of the poverty of *culto* vocabulary: "... es tan miserable este linaje fantástico, que no tiene todo su diccionario quince voces" (page 234).

Criticism of the *estilo culto* continues in *La Circe*, published in 1624, but ready before August, 1623. The unusually violent attack on Góngora himself shows that Lope is in no mood to let Jáuregui's *Orfeo* pass unnoticed. So, as has been said before, the *Orfeo en lengua castellana* is produced as a model of what the first *Orfeo* was not.

12. *Obras sueltas* (Madrid, 1776), I, 424.

13. *Obras sueltas* (Madrid, 1777), XII, 157.

Using the "Lista de palabras afectadas según censuras y parodias literarias del siglo XVII" (441 words and phrases), pages 95-108 and 221 of *La lengua poética de Góngora (parte primera corregida)* by Dámaso Alonso (Madrid, 1950), I have made a careful count of the *culto* vocabulary of the *Orfeo* by Jáuregui and of that of the *Orfeo en lengua castellana*. In the five cantos of Jáuregui's *Orfeo*, with a total of 1488 lines,¹⁴ there are 117 different words considered *culto* at the time. Of these, 45 were censured by Lope on some occasion, and indeed 8 by Jáuregui himself. The *Orfeo en lengua castellana* contains in its four cantos of 1872 lines, 76 different words considered *culto* at the time, of which 30 were criticized by Lope at one time or another.

Since Jáuregui's *Orfeo* is only about four-fifths as long as the *Orfeo en lengua castellana*, proportionally the number of *culto* words in Jáuregui should be raised, roughly, to 146 (i.e. $117 \times \frac{5}{4}$), almost twice as many as the second *Orfeo*'s 76. And it is not only the number of individual words that must be considered. Repetition is important also (cf. Lope's comments on the paucity of *culto* vocabulary). If one adds the frequencies, Jáuregui's total reaches 273, and the second *Orfeo*'s 190; or proportionally, roughly 341 (i.e. $273 \times \frac{5}{4}$) to 190. And if one goes on to the words censured by Lope, the proportion of different words will be about 56 (i.e. $45 \times \frac{5}{4}$) to 30; and of frequencies, roughly 128 (i.e. $102 \times \frac{5}{4}$) to 63.

From these aforementioned figures one is in agreement with Lope that Jáuregui's *Orfeo* is *culto* in its language. And several other contemporary comments declare this fact. Of interest is the amusing, anonymous *Coloquio* in which Jáuregui's Orpheus asks Euridice why she returned to Hell. The answer is:

Pareciéndome más tierno
El tormento del infierno
Que el oírte hablar en culto.¹⁵

However, by the same token, the *Orfeo en lengua castellana* is *culto* too, but only approximately half as much so, "semi-culto," let us say, if degrees of *culteranismo* can thus be established. Lope has reason to complain, but his own performance in, or at least his approval of, the *Orfeo en lengua castellana* needs some explanation or excuse. That explanation, which will be developed in my concluding paragraphs, is in brief, I believe, that Lope was quarrelling with excesses, and will admit, more in practice than in theory, a middle road.¹⁶

14. Text used: Juan de Jáuregui, *Orfeo*, ed. Pablo Cabañas (Madrid, 1948).

15. See José Jordán de Urries y Azara, *Biografía y estudio crítico de Jáuregui* (Madrid, 1899), p. 106.

16. I should like to say in passing that the presence of *culto* words in the *Orfeo en lengua castellana* is not an argument against Lope authorship, for it is well known that he uses *culto* expressions on a good many occasions. But further investigation is still needed into "the extent to which Lope employed *culto* words," as Fichter pointed out in 1937 (loc. cit., p. 349), and into the circumstances under which they were considered to be *culto*.

Another characteristic of *culteranismo*, to which there is no specific reference in the introductory material of the *Orfeo en lengua castellana* or in the poem itself, is hyperbaton or transposition (especially the separation of the adjective from the noun). This Lope considers to be the most serious sin of the *culto* style, for he says in the *Discurso sobre la nueva poesía* that "la transposición . . . es la más culpada en este nuevo género de poesía" (*O. S.*, IV, 471), having previously noted that "Todo el fundamento deste edificio es el transponer, y lo que le hace más duro es el apartar tanto los adjuntos de los substantivos, donde es imposible el paréntesis . . ." (page 469). Very apropos is that good illustration of what Lope objected to, the well-known humorous-satirical sonnet in *El capellán de la Virgen*, which begins:

Inés, tu bellos, ya me matan, ojos.¹⁷

An examination of the two *Orfeos* shows, first of all, that there are a good many transpositions in Jáuregui's poem; about 27 which do violence to Spanish construction. Secondly, there are a number of transpositions in the *Orfeo en lengua castellana* also. The most striking is at the beginning of Canto IV:

O tenebrosas de la noche sombras. . .

And there are several others, a rough total of eighteen. Therefore the approximate ratio of transpositions in the *Orfeo* by Jáuregui and in the *Orfeo en lengua castellana* is as two to one ($34 [27 \times \frac{5}{4}]$ to 18), and once again the first *Orfeo* is "twice as *culto*" as the second.

Since Lope de Vega considers the use of hyperbaton a great failing, one might think that he would have nothing to do with it. Yet I believe that once again he is concerned with excesses. Furthermore he has admitted that, including Herrera, "no hay poeta que no la haya usado" (*O. S.*, IV, 471); and that the use of hyperbaton "es más fácil manera de componer, pues pasa el consonante, y aun la razón donde quiere el dueño." Also, if one examines Lope's poetry of *certain* authorship, there are transpositions to be found; e.g. in the first line of *La Filomena*:

Dulcísima de amor ave engañada. . .¹⁸

If Lope did write the *Orfeo en lengua castellana* "en cuatro días" as a manuscript note would have it,¹⁹ it is no wonder that an occasional transposition does occur.

Other characteristics of Gongorism criticized by Lope from time to time are the excesses of metaphor, allusion, and general adornment. He alludes to ridiculous metaphors in the *Discurso sobre la nueva poesía*,

17. *Obras de Lope de Vega*, Acad. ed. (Madrid, 1894), IV, 469-470.

18. *Obras sueltas* (Madrid, 1776), II, 379.

19. See ed. cit., p. ix.

speaking of the priest who would ask his housekeeper for an "ansarino cálamó" (quill pen), and complain that she had not put "el etiópico licor" (ink) in the "cornerino vaso" (inkwell) (*O. S.*, IV, 477).

But Lope would not wish a proper use of metaphor debarred, and it is not surprising to find in the *Orfeo en lengua castellana*, or in the *Orfeo* by Jáuregui, a fair number of examples of this common poetic practice. Metaphors are more numerous in the *Orfeo en lengua castellana* since there is more description of person and place, but those in both poems are of the usual kind. Jáuregui's *Orfeo* speaks of Euridice's hair as "pluvias de oro" (I, 12), and "donde venció al clavel pálida nieve" (IV, 55) describes Orpheus' face. In the *Orfeo en lengua castellana*, a river is "una sierpe de plata" (I, 20), Aristeo is "el inventor famoso/del arte de las áticas colmenas" (II, 58), snow on Mount Etna is its "cabellos canos" (III, 83), and Venus is, of course, "la madre de Amor" (IV, 107).

Nor are other legitimate poetic devices carried to extremes in either *Orfeo*. On rare occasions, Jáuregui presents a play on words, worthy of Góngora, such as the following: "Ya alberga un corazón en ambos pechos / o bien un alma en ambos corazones (I, 13); the occasional ablative absolute appears in both poems ("condolidas las fieras y las aves," Jáuregui, I, 20; "muerta la luz," *Orfeo en lengua castellana*, I, 42); and parenthetical constructions are fairly common, as are also mythological allusions, to be expected in these *fábulas mitológicas*.

Of all these poetic embellishments Lope approves, but in moderation. As he says in the oft-mentioned *Discurso*, for him "Los tropos y figuras se hicieron para hermosura de la oración . . ." (*O. S.*, IV, 469). It is *too many* "figuras, tropos, enigmas, alegorías y . . . horribles metáforas" and "tantas metáforas de metáforas" that will not be found in the work of a *llano* poet like the Príncipe de Esquilache whom he is praising in "Epístola VII" of *La Circe* (*O. S.*, I, 346 and 350-351), and who is praised, among other contemporaries, in the *Orfeo en lengua castellana*.²⁰ Lope's position is well summed up in a sonnet published in 1634 in the *Rimas de Burguillos*, but "de fecha muy anterior":²¹

También soy yo del ornamento amigo,
solo en los tropos imposibles paro. . . .²²

Out of gongoristic excesses, taken singly or all together, comes obscurity, says Lope, and many are his references to this and his pleas for clarity. For example, the *Discurso* stresses the difficulty in understanding *culto* poems, which contain "tantas tinieblas, que he visto desconfiar de entenderlas gravísimos hombres . . ." (*O. S.*, IV, 468).

20. See ed. cit., pp. 99-105, and Lope's preface: "Tú, mancebo dichoso, / si del laurel comienças ambicioso, / camina a los cristales del Parnaso / por donde van Herrera y Garcilaso; / y si atajar quisieres el camino / sigue de Borja el resplandor divino" (page 18).

21. Romera-Navarro, loc. cit., p. 373.

22. *Obras sueltas* (Madrid, 1778), XIX, 147.

And the *Orfeo en lengua castellana* is greatly concerned with the question of clarity and obscurity also. In the *Aprobación* Lope declares that "El verso es dulce, grave, sonoro, y adornado de admirables conceptos y locuciones, y de aquella claridad, que es una de las generales formas que pide Hermógenes, sin humillarse un átomo de la grandeza heroica" (page 6); and in his later preface he objects to those poets who believe that "es cosa grande lo que nadie entiende, pasando seis hojas de ripio metafórico sin un concepto" (page 16). He also says that "La oscuridad es propia de las cosas ocultas, / estas que llaman Cultas / son Musas de Etiopia" (page 17). And in the "Prólogo (del autor)" indebtedness is acknowledged to *La Filomena*, *La Andrómeda* and *La Circe*, which have served as "ejemplares para escribir mi *Orfeo*, aunque su claridad ciegue los ojos de tantos que escriben en tinieblas" (page 20).

Within the *fábula* itself, in the first stanza, the poet states that he wishes to proceed in "claro verso" (page 21). Within the same first Canto, Orpheus, in his joy, sings in clear verse, free from Gongorism:

Cantaba el felicísimo poeta
en versos como claros numerosos,
sin el horror que apenas interpreta
los concetos en círculos odiosos. . . (Pages 37-38.)

Finally, in the third Canto, Orpheus is again singing, this time his tragedy, "en versos claros, limpiamente graves, / y con dulzura gravemente puros" (page 72); and "nature" is given as a guide for art:

que el arte no es oscuro, si perfecta
naturaleza le acompaña al lado. (Page 73.)

A careful reading of the *Orfeo* by Jáuregui will reveal, I believe, that the poem is quite "obscure." The obscurity is due, as has been seen through a word and syntax count, "al efecto que producen ciertos rebuscados latinismos . . . o a la complicación sintáctica, retorcida y ondulante, muy común en la época. . ."²³ While not entirely "clear" either, much of the *Orfeo en lengua castellana* is worthy of the *estilo llano*; for example, Orpheus' simple, dramatic résumé of his situation in the last Canto:

Canté, lloré, moví tu Reina hermosa,
gané, tuve, gocé mi prenda amada,
hablé, miré, perdí mi amada esposa,
cegué, temí, seguí su sombra helada. . . (Pages 96-97.)

The stand of the *Fénix de los Ingenios*, who, until his death, was "tenaz en la defensa de la pureza de la lengua y del estilo poético en España,"²⁴

23. Jáuregui, *Orfeo*, ed. José Ricardo Morales (Santiago de Chile, 1943), p. 13.

24. Romera-Navarro, loc. cit., p. 381. The breach with Jáuregui was healed by 1625 (see Juan Millé y Giménez, *Estudios de literatura española* [La Plata, 1928], p. 243), and Góngora died in 1627, but there was still work to be done. The later *Laurel de Apolo*, of 1630, *La Dorotea*, of 1632, and *Las rimas de Burguillos*, of 1634, among others, are important anti-culto documents.

is well exemplified in the *Orfeo en lengua castellana*. In the poem and in its introductory materials one sees a concern with poetic theory, accompanied by a freer interpretation in practice. When Lope's pronouncements, influenced by artistic temperament, seem extreme, and when his practice, influenced by natural exuberance, seems, to varying degrees, inconsistent, one must avoid interpreting his ideas too narrowly, and note that he does believe in that *templanza* of which he speaks and to which he confesses in the *Discurso sobre la nueva poesia* (*O. S.*, IV, 476). For it is excesses that he is inveighing against and it is moderation that he is pleading for, as he declares in the final poem of the *Justa poética* (1622):

No niego la exornación
ni las figuras le niego,
la moderación alabo
y los excesos condeno. (*O.S.*, XII, 416.)

And, allowing for poetic genius and human nature, one can let him say (or let it be said for him) in the last stanza of the *Orfeo en lengua castellana*:

Tú, Musa celestial, que me has oído,
no adúltero, fantástico y hinchado,
escribir en la lengua en que he nacido,
con los estudios en que me he criado,
no ambicioso de fama, ni de olvido,
humilde sí, de tu laurel honrado,
espera un día en que celebre y cante
tu nombre en Lira, que la envidia espante. (Pages 111-112.)

University of Toronto

LE MEUNIER D'ANGIBAULT, OU GEORGE SAND EN 1844-1845 (AVEC DES DOCUMENTS INÉDITS)

By Victoria Charlotte Bagier

La signataire de cette étude est une ancienne étudiante de l'Université Columbia, prématurément décédée en 1943. Pendant des années, elle avait accumulé des matériaux pour une volumineuse thèse sur "George Sand et la question sociale." Je dois communication du manuscrit à l'obligeance de Miss Elizabeth Carse, amie de la disparue; et, à sa pitié, la suggestion d'en extraire et d'en publier un passage significatif.

J'ai choisi le chapitre relatif au Meunier d'Angibault, qui n'offre pas seulement l'attrait de textes inédits, mais apporte des retouches ou des additions intéressantes aux exégèses antérieures de Lucien Buis (Les Théories sociales de George Sand, 1910), Wladimir Karénine (George Sand, sa vie et ses œuvres, Volume III, 1912) et Marie-Thérèse Rouget (George Sand "socialiste," 1931).

Ce travail a subi entre mes mains d'importantes condensations, aussi bien que des corrections de composition et de forme; mais la substance et les idées en appartiennent tout entières à Mlle Bagier.

JEAN-ALBERT BÉDÉ

Le *Meunier d'Angibault*, avec le *Péché de Monsieur Antoine*, est traditionnellement considéré comme une œuvre socialiste entre les œuvres socialistes de George Sand. Elle le fut dès avant sa publication, ainsi que nous verrons plus loin. Notre ambition serait, cependant, de nuancer sur ce point l'opinion des contemporains et d'une postérité moutonnaire qui, ne lisant plus George Sand, se contente aisément de catégories toutes faites.

Qui se souvient du meunier d'Angibault? Il souffre, à n'en pas douter, d'être une création largement mythique. De l'aveu de la romancière elle-même, elle ne l'a jamais rencontré, jamais observé de près, et la vision qu'elle a eue de ce prophète de l'avenir est paradoxalement liée à l'évocation accidentelle d'un passé révolu:

Or, il y a dans notre vallée un joli moulin qu'on appelle Angibault, dont je ne connais pas le meunier, mais dont j'ai connu le propriétaire. C'était un vieux monsieur, qui, depuis sa liaison à Paris avec *M. de Robespierre* (il l'appelait toujours ainsi), avait laissé croître autour de ses écluses tout ce qui avait voulu pousser: l'aune et la ronce, le chêne et le roseau. La rivière, abandonnée à son caprice, s'était creusé, dans le sable et dans l'herbe, un réseau de petits torrents qu'aux jours d'été, dans les eaux basses, les plantes fontinales couvraient de leurs touffes vigoureuses. Mais le vieux monsieur est mort; la cognée a fait sa besogne; il y

avait bien des fagots à tailler, bien des planches à scier dans cette forêt vierge en miniature. Il y reste encore quelques beaux arbres, des eaux courantes, un petit bassin assez frais, et quelques buissons de ces ronces gigantesques qui sont les lianes de nos climats. Mais ce coin de paradis sauvage que mes enfants et moi avions découvert en 1844, avec des cris de surprise et de joie, n'est plus qu'un joli endroit comme tant d'autres.¹

Ce coin de terre, toutefois, pour mélancoliquement délaissé qu'on le veuille, n'en est pas moins un coin de terre, c'est-à-dire une solide assise rurale, un lieu propice à l'enracinement. L'auteur le défrichera donc, réveillera le moulin endormi et y campera un meunier assez réel, ma foi, le premier en date (ou peu s'en faut) de ses portraits champêtres, rejeton authentique de la vieille souche berrichonne. Avec ses cinq pieds huit pouces, et robuste à proportion, le Grand-Louis dessine un personnage impressionnant:

Quand il essayait du revers de sa manche la farine qui couvrait habituellement ses joues, il découvrait un teint brun et animé du plus beau ton. Ses traits étaient réguliers, largement taillés comme ses membres, ses yeux noirs et bien fendus, ses dents éblouissantes, et ses longs cheveux châtain ondulés et crépus comme ceux d'un homme très fort, encadraient carrément un front large et bien rempli, qui annonçait plus de finesse et de bon sens que d'idéal poétique. Il était vêtu d'une blouse gros-bleu et d'un pantalon de toile grise. Il portait peu de bas, de gros souliers ferrés, et un lourd bâton de cormier terminé par un nœud de la branche, qui en faisait une espèce de massue. (Pages 25-26.)

Ce "prolétaire" des campagnes, dont il nous est soigneusement rapporté que, sorti de l'école primaire, il possède des "idées justes," des "notions saines" et un "goût naturel," n'a pas de règle plus juste et plus saine que de connaître ses limites et d'accepter le sort qui est le sien:

Loin d'en faire montre [de son savoir] et d'en tirer vanité, il affectait des manières de paysan plus rudes que celles dont il n'ignorait pas l'usage. On eût dit qu'il craignait par-dessus tout de passer pour un bel esprit de village, et qu'il avait un profond mépris pour ceux qui renient leur bonne race et leur honnête condition, en prenant des airs ridicules. Il parlait avec assez de pureté, à l'ordinaire, sans toutefois dédaigner les locutions naïves et pittoresques du terroir. Quand il s'oubliait, c'est alors qu'il parlait tout à fait bien et qu'on ne sentait plus du tout le meunier. Mais bientôt, comme s'il eût été honteux de s'écarter de sa sphère, il revenait à ses plaisanteries sans fiel et à sa familiarité sans insolence. (Page 58.)

Doué d'un caractère aussi stable, le meunier d'Angibault sera le rempart d'imperturbable sagesse contre lequel viendront battre et mourir la sordide cupidité des uns, les nobles utopies des autres. C'est le seul personnage du roman qui, matériellement ou spirituellement, ne soit pas infidèle à sa classe; et, puisque George Sand en a fait son "raisonneur" et son protagoniste,

1. *Le Meunier d'Angibault*, pp. 1-2 ("Notice").—Cette référence et les suivantes sont à l'édition de 1853 (Paris, Hetzel-Lecou).

niste, force nous est de soupçonner que la philosophie de l'ouvrage est plus traditionaliste que révolutionnaire.

A travers des péripéties sans nombre, Grand-Louis obtiendra la main de Rose, fille du fermier Bricolin. Ce triomphe, acquis sans compromission (puisque le père ne consent qu'à la condition de ne point fournir de dot), ce triomphe, disons-nous, sauvera de la tribu "bricoline" tout ce qui mérite d'être sauvé. Les autres membres de la famille sont déjà contaminés et perdus par la passion du siècle—cette frénésie de l'argent et cette dé-mangeaison de parvenir qui, débordant hors des villes, transforment les paysans eux-mêmes en véritables bourgeois campagnards. De père en fils gérants du domaine de Blanchemont, les Bricolin ont mis à profit, pour s'enrichir, l'incurie et la prodigalité des maîtres; et, bien qu'ils payent leur cupidité de malédictions diverses, bien que la folie, directement engendrée par l'appât du gain, ait frappé deux fois dans son foyer, le fermier actuel est tout près de réaliser son ambition suprême et de passer maître à son tour. Le portrait de "M. Bricolin," prêt à donner un grand festin pour l'édification de ses voisins et de ses proches, est du meilleur George Sand:

Plus vain de montrer son opulence que contrarié des frais qu'elle allait entraîner, [il] était de la meilleure humeur. Ses filles, ses fils, ses cousines, ses neveux et ses gendres, venaient, chacun à son tour, lui demander à l'oreille quel jour on prendrait la crémaillère au vieux château restauré et rebadigeonné, avec le chiffre des Bricolin en guise d'écusson sur la porte.—Car enfin tu vas être seigneur et maître de Blanchemont, lui disait-on pour refrain banal, et tu administreras un peu mieux ta fortune que tous ces comtes et barons auxquels tu vas succéder, à la plus grande gloire de l'aristocratie nouvelle, de la noblesse des bons écus. Bricolin était donc ivre d'orgueil, et, tout en répondant avec un sourire malicieux à ses chers parents: "Pas encore, pas encore! Peut-être jamais!" il prenait avec délices toute l'importance d'un seigneur châtelain. Il ne regardait plus à la dépense, il donnait des ordres à ses valets, à sa mère, à sa fille et à sa femme d'une voix tonnante et en gonflant son gros ventre jusqu'au menton. Toute la maison était bouleversée, la mère Bricolin plumait des poulets, à peine morts, par douzaine, et madame Bricolin, qui avait été d'abord d'une humeur massacrant en gouvernant le tumulte de la cuisine, commençait à s'égayer aussi à sa manière, en voyant le repas copieux, les chambres préparées et ses hôtes ravis d'admiration. (Page 257.)

Le "déclassement" de Marcelle de Blanchemont, inspiré de motifs autrement nobles, n'en est pas moins réel que celui de ses fermiers. Cette jeune veuve, dont le mari débauché portait toutes les tares de la "race des oppresseurs," se nourrit d'amour pur et de chimère auprès du non moins jeune Henri Lémor. Lémor est un bourgeois—et voilà complétée la fresque sociale du roman. Héritier d'une assez jolie fortune, il s'est toutefois révolté de bonne heure contre les idées de lucre qui étaient celles de son milieu. En guise de réparation, il a distribué son avoir aux ouvriers victimes de l'égoïsme paternel; il est lui-même devenu ouvrier—ouvrier

mécanicien—et il a fait vœu de pauvreté. Pareille grandeur d'âme impressionne au plus haut point sa noble amie, qui, élevée au couvent et jetée dans le commerce du monde, ne connaissait que de fort loin le "problème social." Elle est bientôt gagnée à une philosophie qui lui paraît la seule vraie, la seule chrétienne, et qui transporte son esprit dans une sphère toute nouvelle. Pour s'unir à Lémor, qui l'adore mais le refuse—par orgueil de plébéien, par horreur de la richesse—elle irait volontiers jusqu'à se dépouiller comme il a fait lui-même:

Je voulais,—confie-t-elle à Rose—dissiper ma fortune personnelle en l'appliquant à ce qu'au couvent nous appelions les bonnes œuvres, à ce que Lémor appelle l'œuvre de rémunération, à ce qui est juste envers les hommes et agréable à Dieu dans toutes les religions et dans tous les temps. (Page 138.)

Ce geste héroïque, il est vrai que Marcelle ne l'accomplit pas d'autorité. Des scrupules lui viennent, et quelque soupçon que les pratiques fraternelles, déjà prônées par les plus grands sages de l'antiquité et les plus grands saints du christianisme, ne sont pas encore prêtes "à descendre dans le cœur des hommes." La voix de la tradition et de la prudence lui souffle qu'elle a des devoirs vis-à-vis de son fils, le petit Edouard, et qu'elle ne saurait imposer à cet enfant, dans l'état actuel de la société et des mœurs, le périlleux "baptême de la pauvreté." Ignorante de la politique contemporaine, n'y découvrant pas "d'assez vives lueurs de [son] idéal," elle n'étouffe pas ses aspirations, mais leur impose silence et se réfugie tristement dans l'arche, "comme l'oiseau durant le déluge." Elle n'y restera pas longtemps. . . . Il suffit que les circonstances, aidées de Bricolin, se chargent de réaliser son vœu, pour que la jeune patricienne ne se tienne plus d'enthousiasme. Elle écrit à Lémor:

Henri, quel bonheur! quelle joie! je suis ruinée. Vous ne me reprocherez plus ma richesse, vous ne haïrez plus mes chaînes dorées. Je redeviens une femme que vous pouvez aimer sans remords, et qui n'a plus de sacrifices à s'imposer pour vous. (Page 101.)

Elle fait déjà, pour Edouard, des plans d'éducation à la campagne dont Rousseau serait jaloux:

Ce sera l'enfance de Jupiter au fond des grottes sacrées. Et quand il sortira de cette divine retraite pour essayer sa puissance, quand la richesse viendra le tenter, nous lui aurons fait une âme forte contre les séductions du monde et la corruption de l'or. (Page 101.)

Et, se confessant au Grand-Louis:

J'ai regretté bien souvent de n'être pas fille et mère d'ouvrier. A présent, Louis, je serai du peuple, et les hommes comme vous ne se méfieront plus de moi. (Page 93.)

Le farinier, toutefois, ne l'entend pas de cette oreille et remet congruement chaque chose en sa place:

Vous ne serez pas du peuple,—dit-il; il vous reste encore une fortune qu'un homme du peuple regarderait comme immense, quoique ce ne soit pas grand'chose pour vous. D'ailleurs, ce petit enfant a des parents riches qui ne le laisseront pas élever comme un pauvre. . . . (Page 93.)

Avec Lémor, le meunier a affaire à plus forte ou, tout au moins, à plus dure partie. Retranché plus que jamais dans ses théories "communistes," l'homme de la ville s'étonne, s'indigne presque, que son rustique interlocuteur ne hâisse point la richesse:

Non, par Dieu!—répond Grand-Louis,—je ne la hais ni ne l'aime pour elle-même, mais bien à cause du mal ou du bien qu'elle peut me faire. (Page 181.)

Et il poursuit, sur le ton d'assurance et d'enjouement que donnent les convictions sereines:

Quand j'aurai fait fortune, comme je ne veux pas être avare et méchant, et comme je suis bien sûr, moi, de ne jamais le devenir, pas plus que ma grand'mère n'est venue à bout d'aimer l'anguille qu'elle ne pouvait souffrir, alors il faudra que je devienne tout à coup plus savant que vous, et que je trouve dans ma cervelle ce que vous n'avez pas trouvé dans vos livres, à savoir, le secret de faire de la justice avec ma puissance et des heureux avec ma richesse. Ça vous étonne? Et pourtant, mon Parisien, je vous déclare que j'en sais bien moins que vous sur l'économie politique, et je n'y entends ni *a* ni *b*. Mais qu'est-ce que cela fait, puisque j'ai la volonté et la croyance? Lisez l'Evangile, Monsieur. M'est avis que vous, qui en parlez si bien, vous avez un peu oublié que les premiers apôtres étaient des gens de rien, ne sachant rien comme moi. Le bon Dieu souffla sur eux, et ils en surent plus long que tous les maîtres d'école et tous les curés de leur temps. (Pages 184-185.)

Lémor, enfin ébranlé par ces paroles, presse romantiquement son ami sur sa poitrine, se félicite de trouver, chez les pauvres et les simples de cœur, la foi et la sagesse véritables qu'il a perdues en grandissant parmi les riches.

J'entends! dit le meunier; vous êtes un malade qui cherche la santé.

—Ah! je la trouverais si je vivais près de vous.

—Je vous la donnerais de bon cœur si vous me promettiez de ne pas me donner votre maladie. . . . (Page 185.)

La leçon a porté. Cependant que le Grand-Louis mènera auprès de Rose une "vie simple et pas trop gênée, exerçant autour de lui une charité pratique à la mesure de ses moyens," Lémor entretiendra désormais une défiance salutaire, et des panacées hâtivement offertes, et de son propre génie. Sans perdre le goût et l'angoisse de la Vérité, il reconnaîtra son impuissance à en susciter le règne immédiat sur une société qui ne se

nourrit que de mensonges. Il reportera sur un seul être ses besoins d'universel dévouement. Il fera le contraire de ce que Michel de Bourges conseillait autrefois à George Sand quand il l'engageait à entendre sa passion brûlante à l'Humanité tout entière. C'est un étrange communiste, avouons-le, qui dit à la femme de son choix: "Je ne trouve qu'en toi le beau idéal que je voudrais voir régner sur la terre," et borne ses ambitions à cet humble programme:

Aimons-nous donc sans nous corrompre en nous mêlant à ceux qui triomphent, et sans nous abaisser avec ceux qui se soumettent. Aimons-nous comme deux passagers qui traversent les mers pour conquérir un nouveau monde, mais qui ne savent pas s'ils l'atteindront jamais. Aimons-nous, non pour être heureux dans l'égoïsme à deux, comme on appelle l'amour, mais pour souffrir ensemble, pour prier ensemble, pour chercher ensemble ce qu'à nous deux, pauvres oiseaux égarés dans l'orage, nous pouvons faire, jour par jour, pour conjurer ce fléau qui disperse notre race, et pour rassembler sous notre aile quelques fugitifs brisés comme nous d'épouvante et de tristesse! (Page 283.)

Faut-il admettre que George Sand, toute la première, est profondément désenchantée de ces doctrines à inspirations diverses, de ces systèmes dont pullule son époque, mais dont aucun n'empêche la misère, l'abandon et l'abrutissement des masses?

Tout, à la date de 1844, le laisse supposer.

Certes, en bonne disciple de Jean-Jacques, l'auteur du *Meunier d'Angibault* semble poser pour axiome qu'il n'est propriété qui ne soit mauvaise et plaie sociale qui ne provienne de la richesse. Entendons-nous cependant. Non seulement l'ouvrage s'abstient de condamner la propriété en tant que telle, mais la possession de l'argent lui-même n'y est pas considérée comme un mal. Le mal, nous est-il dit, est en nous, uniquement en nous. Aucun opprobre ne s'attache à la fortune, si ce n'est par l'effet de nos propres aberrations. Rien n'empêcherait que, dans une société moins pétrie d'égoïsme, la source de nos malheurs ne fût détournée et purifiée pour le plus grand profit de l'individu et de la collectivité. Il est parfaitement légitime d'affirmer que l'argent n'a pas d'odeur, à cela près que le proverbe trahit aujourd'hui nos instincts cupides au lieu d'exprimer, comme il se devrait, notre généreux détachement. Telle est, le plus nettement du monde, la conclusion qui se dégage de la philosophie passe d'armes entre Lémor et Grand-Louis:

Pourquoi,—demande ce dernier,—mépriser tant l'argent qu'elle a [i.e., Marcelle de Blanchemont], et qui est tout gagné?

—Il n'a pas été gagné par le travail du pauvre; c'est de l'argent volé.

—Comment ça?

—C'est l'héritage des rapines féodales de ses pères. C'est le sang et la sueur du peuple qui ont cimenté leurs châteaux et engraisé leurs terres.

—C'est vrai cela! mais l'argent ne conserve pas cette espèce de rouille. Il a le don de s'épurer ou de se salir, selon la main qui le touche.

—Non! dit Lémor avec feu. Il y a de l'argent souillé et qui souille la main qui le reçoit!

—C'est une métaphore! dit tranquillement le meunier. C'est toujours, l'argent du pauvre, puisqu'il lui a été extorqué par le pillage, la violence et la tyrannie. Faudra-t-il que le pauvre s'abstienne de le reprendre, parce que la main des brigands l'a longtemps manié? Allons-nous coucher, mon cher, vous déraisonnez. . . . (Page 187.)

Temporaire ou non, la "tranquillité" du farinier est celle de George Sand à l'avant-veille de la révolution de 1848 que, comme tant d'autres de ses contemporains, elle n'a pas su prévoir. Le terme de "métaphore," bien savant dans la bouche d'un paysan, indique assez la défiance de l'auteur à l'endroit de ses anciens prophètes. Nous sommes loin, en vérité, de la tension morale qu'elle éprouvait jadis sous l'influence de Pierre Leroux, de Michel de Bourges et de Mickiewicz; loin du "merveilleux" socialiste qui s'étalait sans retenue dans les pages de *Spiridion* et de *Consuelo*. C'est l'heure de l'apaisement. C'est même l'heure d'un léger scepticisme. Quel bon plaisantin que ce Leroux, qui annonce pour bientôt la solution du problème social! Et comme il faut en revenir du saint-simonisme, du fouriérisme et de leurs fausses promesses! Les voici sévèrement appréciés par l'héroïne elle-même, Marcelle de Blanchemont, que la docte influence de Lémor, si elle n'a pu la convertir, menace néanmoins de transformer en bas-bleu:

Vous avez entendu parler peut-être des saint-simoniens et des fouriéristes. Ce sont là des systèmes encore sans religion et sans amour, des philosophies avortées, à peine ébauchées, où l'esprit du mal semble se cacher sous les dehors de la philanthropie. Je ne les juge pas absolument, mais j'en suis repoussée comme par le pressentiment d'un nouveau piège tendu à la simplicité des hommes. (Page 142.)

Qui mieux est, la même lassitude des "systèmes" se fait jour dans une lettre de George Sand, écrite vers cette époque et adressée à un "socialiste" de marque, le jeune Edouard de Pompéry:²

Laissez-moi tranquille avec votre fouriérisme, mon bon monsieur de Pompéry! J'aime mieux le pompéryisme; car, si Fourier a quelque chose de bon, c'est vous qui l'avez fait. Vous êtes tout cœur et tout droiture; mais vous n'êtes qu'un poète quand vous prétendez marier Leroux et Fourier dans votre cœur. Que cela vous soit possible, apparemment oui, puisque cela est; mais c'est un tour de force dont mon imagination n'est pas capable. Les disciples de Fourier n'aiment leur maître que parce qu'ils l'ont refait à leur guise, et encore ne l'ont-ils pas fait tous à la mienne. Votre *Démocratie pacifique* est froidement raisonnable, et froidement utopiste. Tout ce qui est froid me gèle, le froid est mon ennemi personnel. . . .

En conclusion, la malicieuse épistolière conseille à Pompéry de se marier.

2. Janvier 1845; lettre insérée dans la *Correspondance* de George Sand (Calmann-Lévy, 1895), II, 331-333.—Pompéry se convertira plus tard aux doctrines positivistes.

Elle a justement—rue de Chaillot, n° 70—une protégée qui ferait admirablement l'affaire de son correspondant:

Cela sera une belle et bonne action, cela vaudra mieux que d'être amoureux de Fourier. . . . Allons! partez pour la rue de Chaillot et invitez-moi bientôt à vos noces.

Sur cette pirouette, George Sand revient à ses anciennes prédilections, ou, pour parler plus pesamment, à la philosophie de ses débuts. Déchirée, à l'égal de ses personnages, par la constatation que la société moderne ne sait, ne peut et ne veut rien, elle se rabat sur la vie du cœur et s'en remet à l'amour seul du soin d'effacer les inégalités sociales. Là où fléchit et s'arrête la faculté de raisonner, le mysticisme passionnel aura peut-être gain de cause. L'amour, voix de la nature et de Dieu, reste, après tout, le meilleur niveleur des préjugés de caste. Au surplus, dans l'intérêt de la race, n'est-il pas souhaitable que le sang "bieu" et épuisé de la noblesse se régénère par le sang "rouge" d'intelligents et honnêtes plébéiens? Consuelo se vantait déjà de n'avoir pas subi, en naissant, la "tache du patriciat," et le temps n'est plus bien loin où George Sand, contant l'histoire de sa vie, tracera le portrait, mieux: l'apologie de sa mère, cette "artiste née" dans les veines de qui coulait la sève généreuse du peuple souverain.

Si rassurante qu'en fût la doctrine, le *Meunier d'Angibault*, comme le *Compagnon du Tour de France* quelques années auparavant, excita l'ire des éditeurs éventuels. A vrai dire, les premières difficultés eurent une tout autre cause et tenaient aux extraordinaires façons de travailler qu'engendra chez les auteurs romantiques la vogue du roman-feuilleton. Selon une procédure chère, non seulement à elle-même, mais à nombre de ses contemporains, George Sand avait promis son manuscrit avant d'en avoir rédigé une seule ligne et reçu du docteur Véron, directeur du *Constitutionnel*, une avance de dix mille francs. Telle que nous la connaissons, elle eût eu grand-peine à s'exécuter au jour dit, mais quels ne furent pas sa surprise et son dépit quand Véron prétendit lui réclamer son texte un mois avant la date fixée! La romancière cria à l'assassinat, offrit de résilier son contrat et de rendre les dix mille francs. Là-dessus, Véron, s'ama-douant tant soit peu, voulut avoir tout au moins le nouveau titre de l'ouvrage, étant bien entendu que le titre primitif—*Le Prolétaire*—ne pouvait être maintenu sans offusquer la clientèle du *Constitutionnel*. Quelques jours de réflexion s'écoulèrent—et George Sand suggéra: *Au jour d'aujourd'hui*.³ Voilà qui n'était guère compromettant. . . . Toutefois, sous cette pâle étiquette, devaient apparaître à l'expérience bien des formules subversives, bien des aperçus hétérodoxes qui, même désavoués de l'auteur, même placés dans la bouche de ses personnages pour les seuls besoins de

3. Locution favorite du fermier Bricolin.

la discussion, secouaient fâcheusement la complaisance louis-philipparde et laissaient entendre que tout n'était pas pour le mieux "au jour d'aujourd'hui." Nous ne possédons pas la suite de la correspondance entre Véron et George Sand,⁴ mais nous savons que la dispute se prolongea jusque dans l'automne de 1844 et tourna désormais autour des tendances pseudo-socialistes du roman. Dans cette controverse, qui faillit aboutir à un procès, Hyacinthe de Latouche, réconcilié avec George Sand après dix années de brouille, lui apporte un solide appui moral:

Quand vous dites aux propriétaires que leur fortune "est un vol," vous inquiétez . . . les odieux bourgeois que représente M. Véron. Maintenant, si votre parti est irrévocable, si vous avez brûlé vos vaisseaux, comme la dame de Blanchemont, nous vous suivrons dans la contrée sauvage, non seulement pour vous bâtir des tentes et les abriter de feuillages, mais pour harceler l'ennemi. Votre cause est superbe contre l'égoïsme des conservateurs fossiles, et vous couvrirez Véron de trente pieds cubes de honte et de couardise. Quelle recrudescence de gloire, quelle noble auréole vous donnera votre procès, la publication de la lettre déjà écrite à l'autocrate! Vous allez mettre à nu la turpitude de la classe moyenne. . . .⁵

Le procès n'eut pas lieu, Véron se montrant magnanime à sa façon et déliant l'auteur de ses engagements. George Sand en dut être soulagée, qui n'avait pas voulu tout ce fracas; mais les sarcasmes de Latouche se donnèrent libre carrière:

Le superbe Véron . . . vous octroie la liberté de publier votre roman ailleurs que chez lui, à condition que, dorénavant, vous serez sage et soumettrez un scénario de ce que vous voudrez faire. L'impertinence n'est plus offensante, elle est risible. Avec cette dictature à la place d'un contrat [sic], cette partie qui devient juge, juge arbitral, juge en dernier ressort, l'ordre règne au *Constitutionnel*! . . .

. . . Merruau ne mène-t-il pas Véron? Tous les hommes d'argent ont fait de ces avanies aux hommes d'esprit, qui manquaient de cœur: Buloz à Balzac, Bertin à Soulié, etc. Mais ici, nous avons affaire à George, nous verrons bien! . . .⁶

"George" n'était pas au bout de ses peines. Ayant essuyé un nouvel échec auprès d'Anténor Joly, directeur du *Courrier Français*, elle entra en négociations avec le journal *la Réforme*, récemment fondé par Louis Blanc et ses amis. Dans les archives de Nohant, nous avons retrouvé une lettre inédite de ce dernier où, visiblement ébloui à la perspective d'une aussi prestigieuse collaboration, il fait un effort non déguisé pour lui donner la signification politique qu'elle n'a point. Ce document n'est pas daté, mais la réponse de George Sand, imprimée dans sa *Correspondance*, permet de le situer fin novembre 1844. Il porte la mention "lettre confidentielle" et est écrit sur papier à en-tête de la *Réforme*.

4. Véron a publié lui-même leurs premiers échanges dans ses *Mémoires d'un bourgeois de Paris*, et d'abondants extraits en ont été reproduits par Wladimir Karénine, dans: *George Sand, sa vie et ses œuvres* (1912), III, 646 sq.

5. Texte complet de cette lettre dans Wladimir Karénine, op. cit., III, 650-652.

6. Cité par Wladimir Karénine, *ibid.*, pp. 652-653.

Je suis chargé par MM. [François] Arago, Cavaignac, Ledru-Rollin, Flocon, Etienne Arago, Joly et tous ceux qui nous aident dans l'accomplissement d'une tâche difficile et sainte, de vous exprimer combien votre adhésion les a touchés. M. Ledru-Rollin particulièrement vous remercie. Et tous nous vous crions du fond de l'âme, de venir avec nous. Votre cause, celle du Peuple, n'est-elle pas la nôtre? Ne devez-vous pas à notre but, qui est le triomphe de l'égalité, ce que Dieu a mis en vous de force, de courage, d'éloquence? Mais vous le savez bien: votre renommée ne vous appartient pas, elle appartient à la Vérité. C'est pourquoi nous invoquons votre concours. Nos ennemis sont puissants, et leur puissance consiste en partie dans leur union: pourquoi ne nous unirions-nous pas? L'amour de l'Humanité, la haine de l'oppression, le devoir de protéger les faibles, les ignorants et les pauvres, la noble satisfaction de l'avoir fait, seraient-ils par hasard [sic] des liens plus difficiles à nouer que cet affreux lien: l'égoïsme? Que ne tentons-nous l'effort d'un fraternel concert? Que n'opposons-nous à l'action brutale de l'argent celle du talent désintéressé? Voilà ce que nous nous sommes dit, en nous déterminant à faire appel de par le peuple et en vue de son affranchissement à quiconque est grand par l'intelligence et par le cœur.

La politique vous fait peur, je le sais; et c'est tout simple, hélas! Vous l'avez vue jusqu'ici confinée dans d'ignobles et obscures intrigues; vous l'avez vue réduite à n'être entre des ambitieux sans entrailles qu'une sorte de pugilat honteux et brutal. Vous avez détourné la tête avec dégoût.

Mais parce qu'on fait de la politique un rôle, est-ce à dire qu'elle ne soit pas une mission? Parce qu'on l'a hideusement détournée de son but, est-ce à dire que les honnêtes gens ne doivent plus s'occuper de l'y ramener? Laisserons-nous aux mains des adversaires de notre cause une force, dont notre cause peut et doit profiter, force immense, force incontestable, dont l'abus s'appelle tyrannie, et dont l'usage s'appellerait affranchissement du prolétariat. En vous associant à nous, ne craignez pas de ne vous associer qu'à des hommes politiques. Car, la politique n'est pour nous que la force mise courageusement au service du bon droit. La politique, pour nous, c'est la richesse employée à la rédemption du pauvre; c'est la puissance employée à la défense du faible; c'est l'éducation donnée gratuitement à tous les citoyens; c'est la destruction du monopole qui les comprend tous, celui des instruments de travail; c'est la réalisation de la sublime devise de nos pères: liberté, égalité, fraternité.

Venez donc avec nous! Notre journal est pauvre, il n'a pas de littérature, faute de pouvoir la payer: il n'a donc pas seulement des droits sur votre sympathie, il en a sur votre talent, sur votre renommée, sur ce que les convenances de votre position personnelle vous laisseraient de loisirs. Vous le dire, c'est assez prouver que ce qu'on honore en vous, c'est quelque chose qui est bien plus rare encore et bien plus noble que le génie.⁷

Cette trop éloquente adjuration, d'un prosélytisme excessif, n'eut pas tout le succès escompté par son auteur. En 1840 ou 1848, elle eût pu porter ses fruits; en 1844, il était trop tôt ou trop tard. George Sand n'oublie point son objet immédiat, qui est, après tout, de placer un roman, non d'épouser un parti et d'entreprendre une croisade. Sa réponse à Louis

7. Lettre inédite (archives de Nohant).

Blanc, datée "Nohant—novembre 1844," témoignera assez que la politique militante continue de lui "faire peur." Elle y maintient, avec une réserve prudente, une humilité réelle ou simulée, la modération foncière qui est la marque de fabrique du *Meunier d'Angibault*:

Mon cher monsieur Blanc,

Mes vives et profondes sympathies pour l'œuvre de la *Réforme* et pour les personnes qui lui ont imprimé une direction à la fois sociale et politique, ne datent pas d'aujourd'hui. Peut-être que l'art m'a manqué pour l'exprimer et le *loisir*⁸ pour le prouver. Mais ce n'est ni l'intention ni le dévouement.

Il y a deux parties dans la lettre si flatteuse que vous avez bien voulu m'écrire. Il y a un appel à ma collaboration littéraire: par ma volonté, elle est assurée à la *Réforme* autant que les nécessités réelles et inévitables de ma vie me permettront de lui consacrer ses heures. Il y a aussi un appel plus intime à ma confiance et à mon zèle. Je répondrai franchement; je vous estime trop pour n'être que polie; j'ai assez de conviction pour risquer de voir rompre un lien dont mon cœur serait pourtant si heureux.

Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire que votre probité politique et votre générosité personnelle à tous me sont aussi bien prouvées que ce que je sens dans ma propre conscience. Je n'ai pas besoin d'ajouter que je reconnais vos talents et que je voudrais les avoir pour mon propre compte et pour l'expression de mes croyances. Et, malgré tout cela, je ne suis pas certaine encore que ma collaboration, même purement littéraire, puisse vous convenir sans examen. Attendez donc encore un peu pour me la faire promettre; car je ne suis que trop disposée à m'engager.

... Je crains que vous ne trouviez mon éducation politique bien incomplète et mes curiosités religieuses un peu indiscretes. Il ne me déplairait point d'être mieux endoctrinée. Je ne suis pas obstinée pour le plaisir de l'être, et, si vous me dites ce qu'il y a derrière les mots *socialisme*, *philosophie* et *religion*, que la *Réforme* emploie souvent, je vous dirai franchement si cela me saisit tout à fait ou seulement un peu.

Je ne vous demande pas un dogme, ni un traité de métaphysique: je ne le comprendrais peut-être pas plus que ma mère, la fille du peuple, ne comprit le compliment politique qu'elle débita à Bailly et à Lafayette à l'Hôtel-de-Ville, en leur offrant une couronne au nom de son district. Mais je vous ferai deux ou trois questions bien bêtes, et, si vous n'en riez pas trop, vous pouvez compter sur le peu que je sais faire. Je suis trop vieille pour que le seul éclat du génie, du courage et de la renommée m'entraînent; mais je suis encore femme par l'esprit, c'est-à-dire qu'il faut que j'aie la foi pour avoir le courage.

... Dans quinze jours, je serai à Paris et je veux que vous me parliez de la *Réforme* et de la politique.⁹

Ceci, sauf erreur, s'appelle "jouer le jeu,"—le jouer avec des atouts bien féminins, qu'on choisisse de les appeler coquetterie désarmante ou

8. Italiques de l'auteur.

9. *Correspondance* de George Sand, ed. cit., II, 324-327.

naïveté étudiée; le jouer tout juste assez pour concilier sa bonne conscience et la flatterie, sa liberté d'opinion et le souci des affaires. Des belles affaires? Voire! Les besoins d'argent de George Sand étaient pressants, autant que l'indigence de la *Réforme* était extrême. Sur cet écueil plate-ment capitaliste et bourgeois, la transaction menaça de s'abîmer. Enfin, certain jeudi, sans autre précision, mais vraisemblablement vers la fin décembre, la vanité finit par l'emporter sur la prudence budgétaire chez les rédacteurs du journal, et Louis Blanc se hâta d'en aviser son illustre correspondante:

Jeudi.

Ajoutez, ajoutez, de grâce, jusqu'à samedi, jour de votre arrivée ici. Une inconcevable fatalité me fait recevoir mercredi soir la lettre que j'aurais dû recevoir mardi matin. De là le retard que je mets à vous répondre. Votre demande a été soumise au comité, et il a été décidé, à l'unanimité, sur-le-champ, *qu'on se soignerait à blanc*¹⁰ plutôt que de vous perdre. On réunit les fonds, et, pour que vous ne les trouvassiez pas à votre arrivée, il faudrait que ce fût non pas une fois, mais cent fois impossible.

A vous de cœur.¹¹

Tout s'arrangeait à souhait, encore qu'*in extremis*, et le *Prolétaire*, sous son titre définitif, le *Meunier d'Angibault*, commença de paraître dans la *Réforme* à partir du 21 janvier 1845. Les journaux bourgeois, qui donnaient l'hospitalité de leurs colonnes à un socialiste authentique en la personne d'Eugène Sue, avaient réussi—une fois n'est pas coutume—à faire de George Sand une "radicale" malgré elle.

10. Italiques de l'auteur.

11. Lettre inédite (archives de Nohant).

STUDIES ON ZOLA'S *SON EXCELLENCE* *EUGÈNE ROUGON*

By Elliott M. Grant

I

Zola's Use of the "attentat d'Orsini"

ON JANUARY 14, 1858 an Italian, by the name of Felice Orsini, exploded three bombs under the carriage of Napoleon III, as he and the Empress arrived before the Opera house for the evening performance. Orsini's motive was political. He hoped, by killing Napoleon, to open the way for the republicans to seize power in France. They, in turn, would aid in the liberation of Italy. But Orsini's hopes were exploded with his bombs, for while the latter killed several people and wounded a great many others, Napoleon and Eugénie escaped virtually unscathed. That very night, Orsini and his accomplices were tracked down and arrested. Four days later, Napoleon declared in his speech from the throne that "danger does not lie in the excessive prerogatives of power, but in the absence of repressive laws." This lacuna was quickly filled by an obedient parliament which voted almost immediately a "loi de sûreté générale," extremely harsh and repressive in its terms. Orsini and one of his accomplices went to the guillotine on the thirteenth of March. After them, the republicans of France were the greatest sufferers, for the Emperor, determined to stamp out opposition, replaced the minister of the Interior, Billault (esteemed too weak), by General Espinasse who proceeded to arrest those suspected of republican sympathies. Hundreds of men were rounded up; most of them were deported to Algeria.

This, in bare outline, was the political event which inspired an important section of *Son Excellence Eugène Rougon*. M. Georges Lote, writing in the *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*,¹ has briefly mentioned the fact that the 1858 law of public safety furnished Zola with some of the material of his book, and, of course, M. Maurice Le Blond, in his edition of Zola's works, has listed the sources of information which a perusal of the novelist's work-sheets shows he utilized, the most important being Ernest Hamel's *Histoire illustrée du Second Empire*, published in fascicles during 1873 and 1874. The purpose of the present paper is to enquire more fully into this problem, to see how Zola selected, adapted, and emphasized his sources of information according to the needs of his novel.

Readers of the novel will recall that in the first chapter Eugène Rougon

1. G. Lote, "Zola, historien du Second Empire," *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, juillet-août, 1918. M. Guy Robert, in his recent study, *Emile Zola. Principes et caractères généraux de son œuvre* (Paris, 1952, p. 67), has also touched on the problem, but without adding anything really new to Lote's summary treatment.

resigns as Président du Conseil d'Etat and is out of office for nearly two years. In the eighth chapter one of his less reputable "hangers-on," Théodore Gilquin, brings him news of a plot against the Emperor. He claims to have overheard a couple of Italians talking in their hotel room about assassinating the head of the state. He had even seen them loading some "petites machines" which he took to be bombs. And he had heard them fix the next day as the date for their great attempt. Though Rougon was inclined to believe the tale, he decided on reflection to do nothing about it.² "Ces coups-là ne réussissent jamais. Il y a une Providence," he states imperturbably to Gilquin.

The next day the bombs explode:

Le lendemain soir, trois bombes éclataient sous la voiture de l'Empereur, devant l'Opéra. Une épouvantable panique s'emparait de la foule entassée dans la rue Le Peletier. Plus de cinquante personnes étaient frappées. Une femme en robe de soie bleue, tuée roide, barrait le ruisseau. Deux soldats agonisaient sur le pavé. Un aide de camp, blessé à la nuque, laissait derrière lui des gouttes de sang. Et sous la lueur crue du gaz, au milieu de la fumée, l'Empereur descendu sain et sauf de la voiture criblée de projectiles, saluait. Son chapeau seul était troué d'un éclat de bombe.³

Orsini's name is not mentioned, but these details added to those of Gilquin's report leave no doubt as to the event in question. In any case, the incident was propitious for Zola's protagonist, as the latter had perhaps foreseen. Ten days later he was appointed Minister of the Interior, replacing M. de Marsy who was named Président du corps législatif.

Hamel asserts that Napoleon III wrote to his new minister, General Espinasse, in the following vein:

Le corps social est rongé par une vermine dont il faut, coûte que coûte, se débarrasser. Il y a aussi des préfets dont il faut se débarrasser malgré leurs protecteurs. Je compte pour cela sur votre zèle. *Ne cherchez pas, par une modération hors de saison, à rassurer ceux qui vous ont vu venir au ministère avec effroi. Il faut qu'on vous craigne, sans cela votre nomination n'aurait pas de raison d'être.*⁴

Zola uses identical language in reporting the Emperor's instructions to Rougon:

L'Empereur, en appelant Rougon au pouvoir, voulait des exemples. Il connaissait sa poigne de fer; il lui avait dit, au lendemain de l'attentat, dans la colère de l'homme sauvé: "Pas de modération! il faut qu'on vous craigne."⁵

2. In historical fact, the police were negligent. They had some warning of danger, but did nothing. For the details, see R. Arnaud, *La Deuxième République et le Second Empire* (Paris, Hachette), p. 127.

3. See the Bernouard edition (critical apparatus by M. Maurice Le Blond), VII, 227.

4. E. Hamel, *Histoire illustrée du Second Empire. L'Empire personnel* (Paris, 1874), p. 264.

5. Bernouard edition, VII, 233.

And the novelist goes on to explain that the Emperor had armed Rougon with that "terrible loi de sûreté générale" which authorized internment in Algeria or expulsion from the Empire of any individual condemned for a political offense. He adds significantly:

Bien qu'aucune main française n'eût trempé dans le crime de la rue Le Peletier, les républicains allaient être traqués et déportés; c'était le coup de balai des dix mille suspects, oubliés le 2 décembre. . . . Dès le milieu de mars, trois cent quatre-vingts internés étaient embarqués à Toulon. Maintenant, tous les huit jours, un convoi partait. Le pays tremblait, dans la terreur qui sortait, comme une fumée d'orage, du cabinet de velours vert, où Rougon riait tout seul, en s'étirant les bras.

These texts clearly indicate that, at least in this section of the novel, Rougon—as suggested by M. Lote—is the embodiment of General Espinasse. But he is more, for Zola proceeds to explain that:

Dans la poussée des hommes du Second Empire, Rougon affichait depuis longtemps des opinions autoritaires. Son nom signifiait répression à outrance, refus de toutes les libertés, gouvernement absolu. Aussi personne ne se trompait-il, en le voyant au ministère. Cependant, à ses intimes, il faisait des aveux; il avait des besoins plutôt que des opinions; il trouvait le pouvoir trop désirable, trop nécessaire à ses appétits de domination, pour ne pas l'accepter, sous quelque condition qu'il se présentât . . . il tenait de l'Empereur une entière liberté d'action, il réalisait son ancien désir de mener les hommes à coups de fouet, comme un troupeau.

If the second sentence of this description applies to General Espinasse, it also suggests in some measure Eugène Rouher who, after the *coup d'état* of 1851, helped to solidify the dictatorship of Louis-Napoléon. The remaining details tend to confirm this identification. Like Rougon, Eugène Rouher, while believing in strong government, was otherwise motivated more by ambition and appetite than by principle.

Hamel relates how Espinasse summoned the prefects to Paris and told them how many men to arrest. He adds:

Si, par hasard, quelqu'un d'entre eux, pris d'un scrupule étrange de la part d'un fonctionnaire de l'empire, hasardait cette question: Mais qui faut-il arrêter?—Peu importe, répondait le ministre, je vous ai indiqué le nombre; le reste vous regarde.⁶

This tidbit was fully exploited by Zola, for in this same chapter, Rougon finally receives the prefect of the Somme, informs him of the policy already adopted, and announces that twelve arrests are expected in his department, in contrast to three in the Haute-Marne (a relatively "safe" area) and to fifteen in the Meuse (a hotbed of republicanism). When the timorous but perplexed prefect ventures to ask: "Son Excellence pourrait-elle me désigner les personnes?" Rougon-Espinasse replies curtly:

Oh! arrêtez qui vous voudrez! Je ne puis pas m'occuper de ces détails. Je serais débordé. Et partez ce soir, procédez aux arrestations dès demain. . . . Ah! pourtant,

6. Hamel, *op. cit.*, p. 271. Zola could have found the same information in T. Delord, *Histoire du Second Empire*, II, 385; he consulted this work to some extent in composing *Son Excellence Eugène Rougon*.

je vous conseille de frapper haut. Vous avez bien là-bas des avocats, des négociants, des pharmaciens, qui s'occupent de politique. Coffrez-moi tout ce monde-là. Ça fait plus d'effet.

The scene is clearly inspired by Hamel's narrative, but made more concrete, colorful, and dramatic by the narrative skill of Zola.

The most sensational incident in the story of these arrests is reserved for the following chapter which is devoted to Rougon's visit to the provinces. Du Poizat, one of Rougon's "gang," has been named prefect of the department of Deux-Sèvres in replacement of an easy-going fellow by the name of Langlade. Du Poizat has, in turn, appointed Gilquin as "commissaire central." One of the men to be arrested in this area is the notary Martineau, denounced as a republican by his sister, Mme Correur, who obviously hopes to inherit one day her brother's property. As he is not in very good health, her motives are not hard to penetrate. The narrative of Martineau's arrest by Gilquin is clearly inspired by a page in Hamel's book. Hamel, himself, got the information from *Les Suspects en 1858* by E. Ténot and A. Dubost (published in 1869) and it is possible but not certain that Zola knew this longer account. He had used Ténot's *La Province en décembre 1851* (Paris, 1868) in composing *La Fortune des Rougon*, and if he knew the earlier book, it is more than likely that he knew the second one. But *Les Suspects en 1858* is not mentioned in Zola's work-sheets⁷ and he is usually scrupulous about listing his sources there. Hamel's brief narrative states that in the department of the Cher the prefect decided to arrest the elderly notary of Charost, M. Lebrun. The text then reads:

M. Lebrun, indignement maltraité par le brigadier de gendarmerie chargé de l'arrêter, tomba, frappé subitement de paralysie, sur le parquet. Les représentants de l'autorité—de véritables assassins—voulurent l'emmener quand même. La paralysie était feinte, assurait l'impitoyable brigadier. "Si dans cinq minutes il n'est pas dans la voiture, s'écria-t-il, je l'attache sur la croupe de mon cheval, et ce ne sera pas long."

La femme du pauvre vieillard voulut monter dans la voiture à côté de son mari. "Point de ça, dit le commissaire de police, montez dans une autre voiture."

Puis on partit pour Bourges, par une nuit glaciale. En arrivant à la ville on conduisit le malheureux à la maison d'arrêt. Il était dans un état si pitoyable que le concierge de la prison refusa de le recevoir sans un ordre du préfet. On se décida alors à le mener à l'hôtel de l'Europe, où il expira dans la nuit du 3 mars dans les bras de sa famille éplorée.⁸

This single page, summarized by Zola in his work-sheets in about three lines,⁹ has been expanded in his book into an eight-page melodrama. There, we see Gilquin, accompanied by a "brigadier" and two "gendarmes,"

7. I am indebted for this information to my son, R. B. Grant, who checked the work-sheets for me in Paris.

8. Hamel, *op. cit.*, pp. 273-274.

9. See note 7.

arrive at Martineau's house. We see Gilquin post a gendarme at the front and garden doors, and we follow him as he enters the house and announces his mission to Mme Martineau. We see his first contact with Martineau who says politely "C'est bien, messieurs, je vais vous suivre," only to fall into his armchair, suddenly paralyzed. Zola's text then continues in much the same fashion as Hamel's with two or three notable exceptions. That brutal sentence, "Si dans cinq minutes il n'est pas dans la voiture, je l'attache sur la croupe de mon cheval, et ce ne sera pas long," is not, oddly enough, reproduced in the novel. Perhaps Zola thought he would be stretching the credulity of his readers too far; or, perhaps, since he did not include it in the brief summary in his work-sheets, he simply forgot it. On the other hand, doubtless to show the hostility of the population, Zola invented a scene in which Gilquin tries to find a vehicle in which to transport the notary and succeeds only after more than an hour's search. He shows us Martineau being carried like a corpse to the waiting carriage while Mme Martineau is forced to follow in another vehicle which she had no difficulty in finding at once. After a two hours' drive they reach Niort, and, as in Hamel's narrative, they finally take the paralyzed notary to a hotel, when the prison authorities refuse to receive him. Gilquin then goes to the prefecture where a ball is being held in honor of Rougon's visit to the town. The chapter ends with a good old Romantic antithesis worthy of Victor Hugo: the death of Martineau in a hotel room while Gilquin dances gayly with the pretty blond wife of the headmaster of the local Lycée. The death of the notary is historical, but the antithesis is Zola's personal invention.

Son Excellence Eugène Rougon is a novel devoted to the career of the "greatest of the Rougons" and through him to the internal politics of the Second Empire. For that purpose the "attentat d'Orsini" and its consequences were admirably suited. As events sometimes serve men better than their own industry and skill, this attack on Napoleon III catapulted General Espinasse into office and in the novel resulted in Rougon's return to power when his own efforts and the machinations of his "gang" had failed. It is possible, of course, that Rougon's passivity in the face of Gilquin's report was calculated and deliberate. If so, we see in that a demonstration of his shrewdness and an illustration of the skillful use that Zola made of the attack. In any case, Orsini's act enabled Zola not only to put his man back into power, but then to show him in action, to reveal his domineering character, his corruption, and his cynicism. Rougon bullies the prefects under his command. He reveals his fundamental corruption, not by taking money, but by appointing his pals to jobs for which few of them have any qualification. His cynicism is seen in his complete opportunism and total lack of principle. The death of Martineau upsets him, to be sure, for a moment. "Cette histoire est bien fâcheuse," he mutters to Du Poizat at the ball. "Eh! c'est cet imbécile de Gilquin! répondit le préfet

en haussant les épaules." Their only concern is for the possibility of political repercussions.

Zola's use of the "attentat d'Orsini" is a good illustration of the way he employs source material. While he reports the facts without basic falsification, without—as M. Doucet puts it in his *Esthétique de Zola*¹⁰—destroying verisimilitude, he does not hesitate to emphasize, to add, to place in a different setting according to his needs. He can hardly, therefore, be considered completely objective. When drawing up his plans for *Les Rougon-Macquart* he had declared: "Je ne veux pas établir ou défendre une politique ou une religion. Mon étude est un simple coin d'analyse du monde tel qu'il est. Je constate purement. C'est une étude de l'homme placé dans un milieu, sans sermon."¹¹ Admirable sentiments! But no one can read *Son Excellence Eugène Rougon* and in particular the chapters we have been considering without realizing that Zola had no use whatever for the regime of Napoleon III. His very choice of an historical source is illuminating, for Ernest Hamel¹² was no scientific historian. He was a publicist and politician, ardently republican in his sympathies, writing for popular consumption and political effect. Zola highlighted, in taking over the facts reported by Hamel, a narrative that was already colored. One may well sympathize with both Hamel and Zola. One may well share their indignation. But, in spite of the authenticity of the facts reported, there is no point in trying to maintain that either man was impartial.

II

The Identity of Clorinde Balbi Delestang

One of the important characters in Zola's *Son Excellence Eugène Rougon* is Clorinde Balbi who marries, at Rougon's instigation, a wealthy but rather stupid man by the name of Delestang. "La belle Clorinde," as her surname implies, is Italian by birth. Accompanied by her mother, the Countess Balbi, she comes to France and succeeds in penetrating the social life of the capital. Her character, her past, and her present activities are all equivocal. She attaches herself to Rougon's political machine and throughout much of the book is active in his behalf. While refusing him her favors, both before and after her marriage to Delestang, she shows no such restraint with others. At Compiègne, she yields to Count de Marsy, and she crowns her career by becoming the Emperor's mistress. It is the purpose of this paper to suggest that while Clorinde Balbi was partly Zola's own creation, certain details of her person and career were inspired by Countess Virginie de Castiglione, a well-known woman of the Second Empire, still living when Zola wrote his novel.

10. Pp. 183 ff.

11. Bernouard, II, 354.

12. M. Lote says the same thing about Zola's use in *Les Rougon-Macquart* of T. Delord's work.

La Castiglione came to France with her husband in 1855.¹ On the evening of November 24 she made her first appearance at the Tuileries. As she made her entrance, all glances were turned toward her. "Her regular profile," says Frédéric Loliée,² "the long eyes so full of fire, the superb masses of her hair, her slender throat rising so gracefully from the exquisitely moulded shoulders, the bust—of royal beauty—left free by her dress, seeming in its bold perfection of outline (to quote the words of an eye-witness) to challenge all other women, arms and hands charming in shape, a figure of faultless build; everything about her person compelled admiration and inspired love." From then on she was the talk of Paris. In February 1857 she created a tremendous sensation at a fancy-dress ball given at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On that occasion her costume, "devised in part according to the Louis XV style and in part according to the fashions of the day, was that of Queen of Hearts—the hearts being outlined by a number of gold chains which wound around her. . . . She wore her hair loose, streaming over her neck and shoulders. Her *corsage* was reduced to the simplest expression, and it was evident to all beholders that she scorned to wear anything so commonplace as a corset."³ At another entertainment she is said to have appeared as Flaubert's Salammbô, wearing a "dress of black satin, the waist without any sleeves, showing more than a usual amount of bare arms and shoulders," the train being "open to the waist, disclosing the countess's noble leg as far up as it went incased in black-silk tights."⁴ On still another occasion she appeared as Truth, dressed completely in white, "holding in her hand a fan made of white feathers which had a mirror in the center."⁵

Other poses tempted her, poses which she had preserved for posterity. According to Fleury and Sonolet:

C'étaient, pour la plupart, des épreuves gouachées qu'elle faisait exécuter chez Mayer et Pierson et qui étaient peintes avec infiniment de talent par un jeune artiste polonais nommé Schad. La pose exigeait une mise en scène des plus compliquées, car chacune de ces effigies devait à elle-même décrire une scène, contenir un symbole, figurer un tableau. . . . C'est ainsi qu'elle nous a légué ces exquises reliques des séductions lointaines qui s'appellent la *Marquise Mathilde*, la *Frayeur*, l'*Eau*, le *Feu*, le *Peignoir rose*, le *Nœud de dentelle*, le *Sommeil* et le *Réveil* et ce troublant *Regard* où elle a fait éclore tant de sérénité souriante au-dessus de l'ample encorbellement de sa robe noire.⁶

1. See *Court Life of the Second Empire*, by Le Petit Homme Rouge (pseudonym for E. A. Vizetelly) (London, 1908), p. 198.

2. F. Loliée, *Women of the Second Empire*, (N. Y., 1907), p. 11. See also his *Romance of a Favourite*, (London, 1912).

3. See *Court Life of the Second Empire*, p. 198. See also Comte M. Fleury and L. Sonolet, *La Société du Second Empire* (Paris: A. Michel, n.d.), I, 312.

4. See L. de Hegemann-Lindencrone, *In the Courts of Memory* (N. Y., 1912), p. 34. (Loliée contests this story; see his *Romance of a Favourite* [London, 1912], pp. 100-102.)

5. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

6. *Op. cit.*, p. 316.

These pictures, much akin to *tableaux vivants*, in which as a matter of fact she took part,⁷ were apparently well-known.

In his personal memoirs, General Count Fleury says of her: "Infatuée d'elle-même, toujours drapée à l'antique, ses cheveux magnifiques pour toute coiffure, étrange dans sa personne et ses manières, elle apparaissait aux heures de réunion comme une déesse descendue de la nue."⁸

Such was the woman who attracted the Emperor's attention shortly after her arrival in Paris. She soon became his mistress. But she was not clever enough to retain his affections very long. The liaison lasted hardly more than a year.

Intellectually, there is no resemblance between Clorinde Balbi and La Castiglione, for the former, while just as depraved, was far more clever than her model. Furthermore, unlike La Castiglione, Clorinde was often careless of her appearance. But there are marked similarities. First of all, in the matter of physical beauty:

Elle était vraiment superbe, avec son profil pur, son cou délié, qu'une ligne tombante attachait à ses épaules. Elle avait surtout cette beauté royale, la beauté du buste. Ses bras ronds, ses jambes rondes, gardaient un luisant de marbre.⁹

One has only to compare Fleury's lines, Loliée's narrative, and the pictures of Countess de Castiglione¹⁰ with this description to see the resemblance.

Like La Castiglione, Clorinde was notorious in Paris for her costumes. She had appeared at a ball given by the Italian legation in the guise of *Diane chasseresse*. We learn what her costume was like in chapter III when she is posing for the young painter, Luigi Pozzo, even as La Castiglione posed for the young Polish artist:

Clorinde, debout au milieu d'une table, posait en Diane chasseresse, les cuisses nues, les bras nus, la gorge nue, toute nue, l'air tranquille.

Little wonder that "all Paris was talking about it."¹¹ In this particular attire Clorinde quite outstripped the beautiful Virginia.

In the same chapter and scene Clorinde shifts from the role of Diana to that of Venus. Like her counterpart, she had some gift for *tableaux vivants*; indeed, we are told that "elle aurait adoré jouer la comédie; elle aurait tout su rendre, la colère, la tendresse, la pudeur, l'effroi; et d'une attitude, d'un jeu de physionomie, elle indiquait des personnages."¹² But the re-

7. See Loliée, *Women of the Second Empire*, pp. 41-42.

8. *Souvenirs du Général Comte Fleury* (Paris, 1898), II, 211.

9. Bernouard edition of Zola's works (with critical apparatus by M. Le Blond), VII, 65.

10. See specially the picture opposite page 8 in Loliée's *Women of the Second Empire*. It is also available in W. Geer, *Napoleon the Third—The Romance of an Emperor* (N. Y. 1920), p. 176.

11. Bernouard edition, p. 66.

12. Ibid.

semblance becomes even more convincing when Zola describes the costume in which Clorinde had won the Emperor's favor:

Dans un bal, au ministère de la marine, où elle était allée en Dame de cœur, avec des cœurs de diamant à son cou, à ses poignets, à ses genoux, elle avait fait la conquête de l'Empereur.¹³

The dress is virtually identical with that worn by Mme de Castiglione in 1857.

Clorinde Balbi plays a rôle in *Son Excellence Eugène Rougon* far beyond the capacity of Virginie de Castiglione¹⁴ whose name is not mentioned in Zola's work-sheets.¹⁵ Yet there can be little doubt that the young countess from across the Alps contributed her nationality, her illustrious liaison, her taste for sensational costumes, her slight histrionic ability, as well as certain physical charms, to the portrait of Zola's Italian adventuress.¹⁶

III

The Composition of the Final Chapter

Students of the Second Empire will recall that on November 24, 1860 Napoleon III made his first modification of the authoritarian, dictatorial regime under which France had lived for eight long years. On that day, he published a decree re-establishing the *adresse*, abolished since 1852. The *adresse* was a reply, drafted by the Assembly (called the *Corps législatif*) and also by the Senate, to the speech from the throne at the opening of the legislative session. It gave the representatives an opportunity, apropos of each paragraph, to discuss and criticize the government's general policy. At the same time Napoleon appointed a certain number of ministers without portfolio to defend before these bodies the government's program and any government bills. The three ministers appointed were Baroche, Billault, and Magne.

The decree of November 24, 1860 and the legislative debate provoked by the first *adresse* to be drafted in consequence, constitute the principal substance of the last chapter of *Son Excellence Eugène Rougon*. Here again,

13. *Ibid.*, p. 318.

14. There are two opinions about this. Loliée holds that La Castiglione played with some success a political rôle. (See his *Women of the Second Empire*, pp. 17-19.) But it seems more likely that she didn't have the intellectual capacity for it. If she did have that talent and exercised it, that constitutes another reason for seeing in her the prototype of Clorinde.

15. For this information I am indebted to my son, R. B. Grant, who checked the work-sheets for me in Paris.

16. E. Lepelletier, in his *Emile Zola* (Paris, 1908, p. 291) possibly hinted at this identification when he said: "Sur la figure fantasque et toute d'exception de Clorinde, ou pourrait mettre le nom d'une grande dame cosmopolite." But he failed to give a name.

M. Guy Robert (op. cit., p. 67, n. 2) suggests, without proof or discussion, the name of Countess de Castiglione. His book appeared after the present article was written and in press.

M. Georges Lote has called attention to the problem¹ and M. Maurice Le Blond has mentioned possible sources.² We believe that a more detailed study of the chapter and the source material will shed light on Zola's intentions and his methods.

The chapter opens with the following words:

Trois ans plus tard, un jour de mars, il y avait une séance très orageuse au Corps législatif. On y discutait l'adresse pour la première fois.

This paragraph is clearly based on historical fact. It refers to the session of March 14, 1861, for on that day the Chamber debated an amendment to the first paragraph of the *adresse*. The amendment declared that if the re-establishment of the *adresse* were to bear fruit, the abrogation of the 1858 public safety law, the granting of greater liberty to the press, and the sincere realization of universal suffrage would be necessary. This amendment was offered by five deputies of the Left, known as the famous Five: Favre, Darimon, Picard, Hénou, and Ollivier.

Zola's arrangement is interesting. After the initial paragraph, quoted above, he devotes two or three pages to a conversation between a couple of deputies, M. La Rouquette and M. de Lamberthon, who have had nothing to do with the action of the novel up to this point. Through them we learn of the November decree and the reasons why it was published. Soon a sergeant-at-arms summons them to the floor of the Chamber. We finally penetrate the assembly hall where everything is in uproar:

... les députés, debout à leur banc, furibonds, les bras tendus, menaçant un orateur impassible à la tribune, criaient:

—A l'ordre! à l'ordre! à l'ordre!

Le vacarme était épouvantable. Il y avait des piétinements enragés, un roulement d'orage obtenu par les planchettes des pupitres secouées violemment.

The presiding officer, Count de Marsy, having obtained a relative silence, invites the orator (unnamed in Zola's text) to explain the words which had produced this tumult. Whereupon the orator repeats: "J'ai dit que le 2 décembre était un crime." Of course, this causes a new uproar in which the only applause comes from four deputies on the left. Obviously the speaker is one of the famous Five.

While the tumult and shouting go on, Zola casts a glance on the material arrangements of the hall and calls attention to the presence of Rougon on the front bench. When the noise subsides, the anonymous orator resumes his speech. He declares that the decree of November 24 grants illusory

1. G. Lote, "Zola, historien du Second Empire," *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, juillet-août, 1918.

2. See his critical apparatus, Vol. VII of Zola's works (Bernouard edition).

liberties; he supports the republican amendment, and closes with the words:

Oui, nous sommes des révolutionnaires, si vous entendez par là des hommes de progrès, décidés à conquérir la liberté! Refusez la liberté au peuple, un jour le peuple la reprendra.

After this highly provocative statement, with its clear hint of revolution, he leaves the rostrum³ in the midst of a new salvo of protests.

Up to this point the scene is partially, but only partially, authentic. As we have seen, there was a session on March 14, 1861 devoted to a debate on the *adresse*. The famous Five did seek to amend the first paragraph. The orator who spoke for them—and whom Zola leaves unnamed—was Jules Favre, whose identity Zola could have easily discovered in Hamel⁴ or any other historian, or for that matter in *Le Moniteur Universel* where the speech was reported in full on March 15, 1861. Zola's omission of the name is of no great significance. What is more important is that while Jules Favre's speech was firm, it was moderate in its wording and even good-humored. Nowhere did he say that the "2 décembre était un crime." Nor did his speech provoke any such uproar as that described by Zola. The latter's account is colorful and dramatic, but the color and drama were largely absent on the day in question.

M. Lote has suggested that some events of 1867—rather than events of 1861—contributed to the composition of this chapter.⁵ He had in mind the latter part of the chapter, not the speech of the anonymous orator. Nevertheless, we have deemed it wise to see whether anything in 1867 could have contributed to the scene we have just been discussing. An examination of *Le Moniteur Universel* reveals that a tumultuous moment did occur in the French Chamber on March 18, 1867. On that day, during a discussion of foreign policy, Eugène Rouher, maintaining that Napoleon III had the support of the nation, cried out: "Après le 2 décembre elle l'a acclamé encore. . . ." Jules Favre and Thiers at once protested to the accompaniment of applause and counter-protests. Rouher, undaunted, replied: "J'ai constaté un fait, c'est que la société a été sauvée de l'anarchie." This statement only increased the tumult. If the scene here described is the source of the moment depicted in Zola's chapter, it is an astonishing literary phenomenon, for in that case Zola made a complete reversal of statements and rôles. The provocative remark in history was made by Napoleon's minister and was favorable to the *coup d'état*; in Zola's lines it was made by an orator of the opposition and was hostile to the *coup d'état*. It seems reasonable to conclude that the color and drama of this

3. This is an anachronism. The rostrum was not re-established till 1867.

4. Ernest Hamel, *Histoire illustrée du Second Empire. L'Empire libéral* (Paris, 1874).

5. Loc. cit. See note 1; also note 3.

section of Zola's chapter are essentially the products of the novelist's imagination.

Similar conclusions are to be drawn from a comparison of the nameless orator's last words (quoted above) with Jules Favre's words as they are reported in *Le Moniteur Universel* of March 15, 1861. The official text says:

Si vous entendez par révolutionnaires ceux qui veulent arracher du sol jusqu'aux derniers germes, jusqu'aux derniers débris de l'ancien régime détesté par la France; si vous entendez par révolutionnaires ceux qui veulent pour leur pays un régime de liberté sage dans lequel toutes les positions, tous les droits soient garantis; dans lequel, à l'ombre d'un pouvoir régulier, la loi soit respectée et obéie; si vous entendez par révolutionnaires les ennemis énergiques du droit divin, nous sommes révolutionnaires et nous nous en glorifions.⁶

Hamel's résumé of these words is shorter but accurate.⁷ In neither source did Zola find any suggestion of the "people taking back the liberty which had been refused them." As before, he has added a touch of excitement to the original debate.

Zola's final chapter shows us Rougon once again in the rôle of Minister after a lapse of three years. He now rises to make the government's reply to the speaker of the opposition. M. Georges Lote has suggested that in composing this oration Zola utilized a speech made by Eugène Rouher on February 26, 1867.⁸ On that particular day the Chamber was debating a new change just instituted by Napoleon III. By his letter of January 19, 1867 the head of the state had announced his intention of replacing the *adresse* with the right of interpellation, "sagement réglementé." Once again in the Chamber Jules Favre spoke for the opposition, and this time Rouher defended the Emperor. Whether the change from the *adresse* to interpellation was liberal or illiberal is a highly debatable matter. Favre thought the abolition of the *adresse* reactionary. Rouher deemed the permission of interpellation a liberal act. In taking this view and in supporting a liberal measure, Rouher was turning his back on his reactionary past, adoring what he had previously denounced.

Now if Rougon is always a reflection of Eugène Rouher, M. Lote is perhaps justified in seeking in Rouher's 1867 activities a justification of Rougon's position in 1861. Rougon in Zola's last chapter is, indeed, turning away from an illiberal past and supporting what was in fact a first step, albeit a short one, toward a liberal empire. But if we examine Rougon's words and compare them with the official reports of the parliamentary

6. See *Le Moniteur Universel*, March 19, 1867.

7. Hamel, op. cit., p. 25: "Si l'on entendait par révolutionnaires ceux qui voulaient extirper du sol de notre pays les derniers vestiges de l'ancien régime, ceux qui voulaient pour la France un régime de sage liberté, où tous les droits, où toutes les positions fussent garantis, ses amis et lui étaient des révolutionnaires"

8. Loc. cit.

debates in *Le Moniteur Universel* or with the summaries in Hamel's *Histoire illustrée du Second Empire*, we discover that Rougon's speech is closer to words uttered by certain deputies in 1861 than to anything said by Eugène Rouher six years later.

What are Rougon's precise remarks? First of all he declares:

Nous aussi nous sommes des révolutionnaires, si l'on entend par ce mot des hommes de progrès, décidés à rendre au pays, une à une, toutes les sages libertés.

These words are almost identical with those pronounced by Jules Favre and Pierre-Jules Baroche in 1861. We have already quoted the former's statement. As for Baroche, he said, according to Hamel: "Et nous aussi nous sommes révolutionnaires dans ce sens."⁹ Rougon's sentence combines elements from a republican and a conservative.

Then with regard to free elections, Rougon says:

Sans doute le gouvernement recommande ses candidats. Est-ce que la révolution n'appuie pas les siens avec une audace impudente? . . . Par amour pour le pays, nous serons toujours là, à le conseiller, à lui dire où sont ses véritables intérêts.

On this subject Baroche declared:

Eh bien, messieurs, c'est en présence de ce suffrage universel, agissant librement, que le Gouvernement a pensé que si les candidats qui se présentent contre les indications du Gouvernement, pouvaient user d'une grande latitude et d'une grande liberté, il fallait aussi que, dans un intérêt grave, dans un intérêt bien plus grave que celui de la candidature de tel ou tel aspirant à la députation, dans un intérêt social, le Gouvernement se défendît et indiquât ceux qu'il préférerait.¹⁰

Here the words are different from those Zola chose for Rougon, but the idea is the same.

As for the press, Rougon maintains that

elle n'a jamais joui d'une liberté plus entière, sous aucun gouvernement décidé à se faire respecter. Toutes les grandes questions, tous les intérêts sérieux ont des organes. L'administration ne combat que la propagation des doctrines funestes, le colportage du poison. Mais, entendez-moi bien, nous sommes tous pleins de déférence pour la presse honnête, qui est la grande voix de l'opinion publique. Elle nous aide dans notre tâche, elle est l'outil du siècle. Si le gouvernement l'a prise dans ses mains, c'est uniquement pour ne pas la laisser aux mains de ses ennemis.

And Zola adds: "Des rires approbateurs s'élevèrent." Baroche's exact words appear, of course, in *Le Moniteur Universel*. But in this case it is again more useful to quote Hamel's summary:

Que venait-on parler de l'asservissement de la presse? Est-ce que jamais une grande question, un intérêt sérieux avaient manqué d'organe parmi les journaux?

9. Hamel, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

10. *Le Moniteur Universel*, March 15, 1861.

La presse était, en effet, dans les mains du gouvernement; le ministère voulut bien l'avouer. Mais cela ne valait-il pas mieux que si elle était dans la main de ses ennemis? Cet argument . . . obtint la vive approbation de la majorité, dont il excita le rire prolongé.¹¹

Can there be any doubt that this is the source of Zola's text?

In his peroration Rougon evoked the danger of red revolution:

En quelques phrases dramatiques il montra le spectre rouge secouant son drapeau ensanglanté, promenant sa torche incendiaire, laissant derrière lui des ruisseaux de boue et de sang.

Now Eugène Rouher undoubtedly feared the red menace and said so on more than one occasion. But the immediate question is: who in the French Chamber talked of the red danger on this March day of 1861? According to Hamel's account, it was Jules Favre who recalled that

il avait combattu le drapeau rouge, dans les plis duquel il lisait les mots détestés de despotisme et de servitude dont il ne voulait pas, qu'ils vinssent de la rue ou du trône.¹²

Clearly, Zola's source for this bit of Rougon's speech is not Eugène Rouher at all, not even Baroche, but, amusingly enough, the leader of the republican opposition.

At the end of Rougon's speech, the session was suspended for ten minutes while he received the congratulations of his colleagues. When it was resumed, a new orator arose and injected the Roman issue into the debate. He demanded that the *adresse* contain a formal statement in favor of the maintenance of the temporal power of the Pope. Now in historical fact, there was just such a demand on the part of the clerical group in the Chamber in 1861 and they managed to poll nearly a hundred votes in support of the amendment they presented. Zola does not enter into the details of this thorny problem. He is satisfied to let Rougon reply briefly. The great man, who earlier in the novel had expressed strongly anti-clerical opinions, now declares:

Messieurs, je suis heureux de cette occasion pour m'agenouiller ici, avec toute la ferveur de mon cœur de catholique, devant le souverain pontife, devant ce vieillard auguste, dont la France restera la fille vigilante et dévouée.

We can easily understand why Clorinde Balbi Delestang says to him in the closing words of the book: "Vous êtes tout de même d'une jolie force, vous." There is a certain strength in this complete indifference to consistency.

11. Hamel, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

12. *Ibid.* This is confirmed in *Le Moniteur Universel*, March 15, 1861: "La France a vu se former dans son sein un grand parti . . . ce grand parti est celui . . . qui a combattu le drapeau rouge, dans les plis factieux duquel nous lisions le mot détesté de dictature et de servitude; nous n'en voulons pas, qu'elle vienne de la rue ou du trône."

The composition of this final chapter helps to understand Zola's methods and intentions. What he clearly desired was to focus attention on his protagonist in a dramatic moment of great success, and he wished to do so in a way that would aid in relating and characterizing the internal history of the Second Empire. In the pursuit of this double aim he could not neglect historical facts, nor presumably did he wish to. He, therefore, chose as his historical moment the early months of 1861 when Napoleon III made his first step toward a liberal empire. The re-establishment of the *adresse* did, as a matter of historical record, inspire a prolonged debate in the French Chamber. But while it was an interesting debate, it lacked great excitement, and since a novel has to be something more than a mere photographic reproduction of reality, since Zola would doubtless have agreed with Maupassant's later expressed opinion that a novel should give us a "more complete, more striking, more convincing vision of reality than reality itself,"¹³ he did not hesitate to rearrange the facts, to add excitement and color to the historical scene that he chose to relate. In this case he went much farther than his wont; he went so far as to put the words of an historical adversary into the mouth of his protagonist. Did he destroy verisimilitude by doing that? Perhaps for the professional historian of the Second Empire who happened to read the novel he did. For the average reader in all probability he did not.

The chapter also sheds light on the identity of Eugène Rougon. While the name suggests by itself Eugène Rouher, we know that Zola chose it long before he composed this particular novel. M. P. Raphaël¹⁴ has proved that the surname is that of a schoolmate of Zola's, Joseph-Paul Rougon, who was four years younger than he. Nevertheless, Zola's work-sheets indicate clearly that in fashioning the character of Rougon he had in mind the personality and career of Eugène Rouher. He says in the *Ébauche*: "Ne pas oublier que je fais un Rouher très grand; le vrai Rouher, ignorant, médiocre, plaideur souple, sera le mari de mon aventurière."¹⁵ Many changes occurred in this novel, as in others of the series, between the *Ébauche* and the definitive text. For example, the husband of the adventuress just mentioned is Delestang, who is in no way a reflection of Eugène Rouher. But the fact remains that Rouher is not alien to the personality of Zola's protagonist, Eugène Rougon. Like Rouher, the hero of this book is a complete opportunist; like Rouher, he has "la voix pâteuse" yet is an effective orator; like him—if we may cite a trivial detail—he is fond of solitude;¹⁶ again like Rouher, he is at heart illiberal and authoritarian. But we have seen that in chapters 9 and 10 of the novel he was undoubtedly

13. See Preface to *Pierre et Jean*.

14. P. Raphaël, "*La Fortune des Rougon et la réalité historique*," *Mercure de France*, October 1, 1923.

15. *Ébauche*, "feuilleton" 125. For this information I am indebted to my son, R. B. Grant, who checked the work-sheets for me in Paris.

16. See chapter 6, p. 141 (Bernouard edition).

modeled after General Espinasse. In the last chapter, as M. Lote suggests, there is some similarity between the general attitude of Rouher in 1867 and Rougon in 1861. Both men were supporting a policy which they really deplored. At the same time, we have seen that in Rougon's 1861 oration there were reflections, not of anything that Rouher said in the Chamber, but rather of the words of Baroche and Favre. In the latter case Zola took expressions from the speech of a republican hostile to the Empire and attributed them to a fictional ultraconservative minister of the Empire. One must inevitably conclude that Eugène Rougon is a composite figure,¹⁷ that, like the final chapter itself, he is an extraordinary mixture of fact and fiction. Zola's essential motives are clearly revealed; he wishes to produce the maximum artistic effect and he seeks to discredit the imperial regime of Napoleon III.

Williams College

17. Mr. Angus Wilson in his *Emile Zola. An Introductory Study of his Novels* (N.Y., 1952, p. 34) echoing a notion of Paul Alexis, declares that Rougon is "the very representative of the powerful, ruthless man that Zola with his ambition and strength of purpose might have been in the sphere of action. . . ." It is true that Zola was ambitious and purposeful, but as he was not unprincipled, it is difficult to see him as the model for Eugène Rougon. Mr. Wilson's book was also published after the present article was composed.

PARDO-BAZÁN AND LITERARY POLEMICS ABOUT FEMINISM

By Ronald Hilton

THE CENTENARY OF EMILIA PARDO-BAZÁN is reviving interest, not only in her novels, but also in the abundant material, essays and books, in which she discussed the problems of the world of her time, and particularly those of Spain. There are few sources of information as rich as her writings for the study of Spain in the decades around the turn of the century. She herself was actively involved in the most important polemics of her time. She was a reformer, albeit a conservative one, and among the causes on which she embarked most whole-heartedly was one in which she had a personal interest: the emancipation of women. This campaign had two phases: the first dealt with the condition of Spanish women in general, and presented a series of problems, such as the question of education, which inevitably involved the masses of Spanish women. The second concerned the admittance of women into the intellectual élite of Spain.

It would have been well had Doña Emilia contented herself with working for the amelioration of feminine education in Spain. It was perhaps unfortunate that she should have been even more active in her attempts to obtain official recognition for the intellectual achievements of Spanish women and that, being undoubtedly the most prominent Spanish woman of her time, the recipient of this recognition should be inevitably she, and usually she alone. Despite the bitter, persistent and sometimes malicious opposition of the conservatives, honors were showered upon her. Yet it is unjust to suggest, as does Cejador y Frauca, one of Doña Emilia's most acrid enemies, that she pushed herself forward with a total disregard of feminine modesty. Cejador y Frauca even implies that Pardo-Bazán herself was responsible for the erection of her statue, during her lifetime, in La Coruña (1916).¹ Among the less tangible recognitions of her achievements may be quoted her role on the organizing committee of the Pedagogical Congress of 1892; her nomination as the first woman professor of advanced studies, and as the first female member of the Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País; and finally, more striking still, her appointment in 1916 by the Minister of Education, Julio Burell, over the heads of the disapproving *Claustro*, as Professor of Romance Literatures in the University of Madrid. Cejador y Frauca, a member of the *Claustro*, uses undiplomatic language to qualify this incident.²

1. The author of the *Estudio crítico de la Condesa de Pardo-Bazán* (in *La novela corta*, ed. José de Urquía, VI, no. 286) says (p. 2, the pages are unnumbered) that Cejador y Frauca maliciously affirmed that Pardo-Bazán was really born in 1850 (and not in 1852); Cejador hoped thus to make it seem that Pardo-Bazán was deceiving the public regarding her age.

2. See Cejador y Frauca, *Historia de la lengua y literatura castellana*, IX, 283.

One honor our protagonist did not obtain, the most coveted of all—that of Academician. The question of her election to this august body was the motive of a long and acrimonious feud, which Pardo-Bazán always referred to as “la cuestión académica.” In noise and unpleasantness this squabble was second only to that provoked by “la cuestión palpitante,” an expression on which Doña Emilia undoubtedly modeled her designation for this new polemic; it is true that Spanish writers dealing with their country’s problems have reduced everything to “cuestiones,” a word which is always on their tongue and against which Unamuno protests.

The cloud burst in February, 1889, when Pardo-Bazán published in *La España Moderna* two letters, dated February 27, 1889, and addressed to “Gertrudis Gómez Avellaneda. (En los Campos Eliseos).” La Avellaneda had died in 1873. Pardo-Bazán invokes the defunct writer as “Mi excelsa compañera Tula” and constantly inserts “Tula” into the text as a parenthetical exhortation. The first letter begins: “No lleses a mal que por breves momentos distraiga tu espíritu, entretenido, sin duda, en vagar por los amenos valles de esa región feliz. Acuérdate de la tierra donde viviste, y déjame contarte algo de lo que en ella sucede.” Pardo-Bazán proceeds to relate that in the Madrid newspaper *El Correo* there appeared, on February 24, 1889, under the title “Las Mujeres en la Academia,” four previously unpublished letters of la Avellaneda, who had written them thirty-six years before to someone designated here by the anonymous “XX.” These letters deal with la Avellaneda’s attempts to enter the Academy. Pardo-Bazán’s name was at the time (1889) being mentioned as a possible candidate for this austere corporation, and the rumor that *El Correo* had disinterred these thirty-six-year-old letters with malicious intent was substantiated by the fact that they were preceded by a note from the pen of a Sr. Vior, describing Avellaneda’s sorry failure to obtain the coveted seat and prophesying the same unpleasant fate for Pardo-Bazán. Doña Emilia replies, with quiet firmness, that it had been her intention to say and do absolutely nothing with regard to her proposed election, but that the malicious trick of *El Correo* obliges her to clarify her position. She affirms with haughty impatience that she had not made the slightest effort to obtain admittance to the Academia de la Lengua, which she describes with an ironical circumlocution: “No ha salido una palabra de mis labios, ni ha trazado una línea mi pluma en son de ruego tácito o explícito para que se me admita en la tertulia filológico-literaria de la calle de Valverde.” This is in reply to Sr. Vior, who attributed to la Avellaneda stealthy diplomatic maneuvers to procure her election and implied that Pardo-Bazán was using the same tactics. The Secretary of the Academy was at the time Manuel Tamayo y Baus. Although he had long been a good friend of Doña Emilia, they had never, until *El Correo* provoked this incident, mentioned the subject of the admittance of women to the

Academy, this, says Pardo-Bazán, being on account of her desire to avoid the topic. She proceeds to point out that Avellaneda was a great poet, to whom Alberto Lista and Villemain had conceded the highest praise, and that if she did attempt to enter the Academy, she was perfectly justified in not being ashamed of her own talent. The leader of the clique which opposed la Avellaneda was Patricio de la Escosura, who would be forgotten but for his enmity toward her,⁴ just as Fréron's name has been kept alive by his feud with Voltaire. Reviewing the history of woman's intellectual status in Spain, Pardo-Bazán says once more that it was highest in the Golden Age, when women professors taught in Alcalá.⁵ The respect for, and the equitable treatment of, feminine intelligence began to be lost in "nuestra lastimosa decadencia del siglo XVIII," and it was this which obliged Feijóo to write his famous "Defensa de la mujeres."⁶ Despite this anti-feminist trend, the Academy continued to elect women, and in 1784 Doña Isidra de Guzmán, Marquesa de Guadalcazar, was made honorary member.⁷ The crisis crystallized when it was proposed to elect la Avellaneda. Although she was rejected, the most distinguished members of the Academy voted for her—Pacheco, Quintano (who qualified the objection to her admission as ridiculous and unworthy), the Duke of Rivas, Hartzenbusch, Pastor Díaz, Mesonero Romanos and Roca de Togores.

In the second letter, Pardo-Bazán discusses the present situation. Her candidacy was being advocated, with the inevitable eloquence, by her friend and admirer Castelar (Pardo-Bazán does not name him, but the reference is obvious). Opposed to him, or rather her, stood the block of unimaginative Academicians; their stupidity was proved by the argument vehemently propounded by one of them: that Doña Emilia had no electoral rights and could therefore not become an Academician! This letter ends with a long and delightful satire of the Academy and of the advantages

4. This is a slight exaggeration. Admittedly the exciting political life of Patricio de la Escosura y Morrogh (1807-1878) was tumultuous and ineffective. Yet his numerous plays were highly successful and have been forgotten too soon. Moreover his labors on behalf of the Spanish Academy were praiseworthy; to him it owes in particular the foundation of American Corresponding Academies.

5. Although a few women, such as the daughter of Nebrija, taught at Alcalá, women cannot be said to have played any part in Spanish university life at Alcalá or elsewhere. They were in general not admitted as students. Neither Vicente de la Fuente in his *Historia de las universidades, colegios y demás establecimientos de enseñanza en España* (4 vols. Madrid: Fuentenebro, 1884-89), nor Gustave Reynier in *La Vie universitaire dans l'ancienne Espagne* (Paris: A. Picard, 1902), nor Esteban Azafía in his *Historia de la ciudad de Alcalá de Henares* (2 vols.; Alcalá, 1882-83) devotes any attention to the role of women in university life.

6. "La defensa de las mujeres" is "Discurso" xvi of Feijóo's *Teatro crítico* (I). Pardo-Bazán makes a quite unjustifiable use of it, since it is merely an addition to the ancient dispute concerning the relative merits of men and women. It contains no suggestion that the lot of women has become worse since the Golden Age.

7. Pardo-Bazán fails to mention that the election of María Isidra de Guzmán y la Cerda, who was only sixteen at the time, was due to pressure from Charles III, who likewise obtained for her the doctorate of Alcalá.

pertaining to membership. It is scarcely astonishing that the Academicians, thus mocked, should constantly refuse to elect Doña Emilia.

The article in *El Correo* and this reply from Doña Emilia provoked a polemic and a deluge of articles, the most notable being one published by her in French (it never appeared in Spanish) in the *Nouvelle Revue Internationale* of 1889; the open letter which Rafael Altamira addressed to her in *La España Moderna* of February, 1891; and the thankful reply which, under the title "La cuestión académica," Pardo-Bazán published in the *Nuevo Teatro Crítico* of the following month. Justly considering herself provoked and insulted, Doña Emilia undertook a campaign for the admission of women into the Academy. She said, without any ambages or false modesty, that there were two possible candidates—herself and Concepción Arenal, although the latter, not being resident in Madrid, could become only a corresponding member. Pardo-Bazán's campaign awakened much interest, indeed strong passion, but met with no success.

Concepción Arenal was an enthusiastic feminist, and it was largely this which made her an ally of Pardo-Bazán. Doña Concepción's ideas on feminism are expressed in many places, particularly in *La mujer del porvenir* and *La mujer en su casa*; and also in the paper she sent to Section V of the Congreso Pedagógico held in Madrid in 1892. Doña Emilia voices her debt to the "illustrious lady from Ferrol" in "Concepción Arenal y sus ideas acerca de la mujer."⁸ Pardo-Bazán accepts most of her views but refuses to follow her in her more radical ideas, as for example when, in *La mujer del porvenir*, she demands that women have the right to be ordained priests. In this refusal we may perceive a struggle between Doña Emilia's feminist ideas and her religious education.

Pardo-Bazán's feminism brought her into sharp conflict with the Quintero brothers. Annoyed possibly by Doña Emilia's scorn for Andalusia, the Quintero brothers began hostilities in the speech which Seraffín Quintero, speaking for both, made at the Eslava Theater, Madrid, on February 6, 1917, as an introduction to one of the Friday performances organized by Martínez Sierra on behalf of La Protección al Trabajo de la Mujer. It was a solemn occasion. The King and Queen were present, besides a galaxy of aristocrats and other socially prominent people.⁹ The address was entitled "La mujer española."¹⁰ The Quinteros declared their intense admiration for Spanish women but their decided rejection of "feminism," which would rob women of their essential charms. The Andalusian playwrights intended this speech to be a direct attack on Pardo-Bazán, to whom an ironical and obvious reference is made ("tal cual amiga feminista, cuyos pies besamos," page 41). The rebuke to Doña Emilia was enveloped in a more general one

8. *Nuevo Teatro Crítico*, III (1893), no. 25, pp. 269 ff.

9. See "La vida del teatro," *Blanco y Negro*, February 18, 1917.

10. Published, together with the two letters to Pardo-Bazán, in the "Biblioteca Hispania" (Madrid, n.d.), p. 89.

to Francophile intellectuals, Ramón y Cajal in particular being named. The speech was deeply tinged with a traditionalist and isolationist spirit, such as would please the aristocratic audience of the Eslava Theater. It was published in its entirety the next day by the newspaper *La Mañana*. Doña Emilia issued an irate reply entitled "Los tiempos de Isabel" in *El Día* of the following Sunday. The Quintero brothers retorted in the same newspaper on February 13, flatly denying that there was any allusion to Pardo-Bazán in their speech. Their letter begins: "Insigne y respetable amiga." A few days later, a second and longer reply from Pardo-Bazán appeared. The Quinteros closed the polemic with a letter which was published in *El Día* of February 21. It opens "Gloriosa maestra y amiga" and is written in a tone of ironical admiration. This vulgar scuffle completely estranged Doña Emilia from the Andalusian dramatists.

Her relations with Martínez Sierra were somewhat happier. In the aforementioned polemic, which began at a ceremony he himself had organized, Martínez Sierra defended Pardo-Bazán as discreetly as possible.¹¹ It is true that he had been attacked with the same arguments as those used against Doña Emilia, on account of the speech he made on February 2, 1917, at the first of the Friday sessions organized by him at the Eslava Theater. He later showed his appreciation of Pardo-Bazán by writing a warm commentary on *La esclavitud femenina*, translated from John Stuart Mill.¹² Finally, when the Swedish Academy elected Selma Lagerlof, Martínez Sierra wrote an article full of malicious intent toward the anti-feminist Spanish Academy. He was obviously inspired by the tumult concerning "la cuestión académica".¹³

The altercation between the Quintero brothers and Pardo-Bazán had re-echoed throughout the educated public of Spain. Martínez Sierra, who did not face hostile criticism as courageously as did Doña Emilia, tried to show his neutrality by organizing a literary inquiry (somewhat redolent of publicity). He drew up a list of five questions:

1. Do you think that, in reality, there exists an essential opposition between femininity ("feminidad") and feminism ("feminismo"), understanding by feminism the equality of women and men in civil and political questions and, consequently, the possibility of intervening effectively and directly in the life of the nation?

2. Do you think that, since women are subject to the law as strictly as men are, they would contribute to formulating it?

11. See "Para alusiones," *Feminismo, feminidad, españolismo* (in Martínez Sierra, *Obras completas*, Madrid: Saturnino Calleja, 1920), pp. 95 ff.

12. "Los grandes amigos de la mujer . . ." (*Feminismo, feminidad, españolismo*, pp. 101 ff).

13. "Una academia que no ha tenido miedo de admitir a una mujer en el corro de los inmortales . . ." (*Feminismo, feminidad, españolismo*, p. 271).

3. Do you not think that municipal administration is essentially a woman's job?

4. Do you not think that the intervention of women in state matters would introduce into their workings an element of morality and a practical and constructive sense which are at present lacking?

5. Since the triumph of feminism in Europe, whether we wish it or not, is inevitable, which do you think would be in Spain the best methods of capacitating and preparing Spanish women for the new task which very soon will be incumbent upon them, by the inevitable law of progress?

Martínez Sierra then sent this questionnaire to the leading Spanish writers of his time: Armando Palacio Valdés, Julio Cejador, Ricardo León, Pardo-Bazán, Gómez de Baquero,¹⁴ Linares Rivas, María de Maeztu,¹⁵ Alcalá Zamora, Ramiro de Maeztu, Luis Araquistáin, José Francos Rodríguez,¹⁶ Alberto Insúa,¹⁷ Concepción Saiz, Rafael Altamira, Luca de Tena, Carmen Rojo,¹⁸ Luis de Zulueta, Blanca de los Ríos de Lampérez, Francisco Largo Caballero, F. García Sanchiz, Pedro de Répide and Matilde G. de Real. The questionnaires were sent out by Martínez Sierra in February, 1917, immediately following the dispute between the Quintero brothers and Pardo-Bazán. The replies appeared sporadically in article form and were finally collected together as a book in 1920 under the title *La mujer moderna*.¹⁹

This symposium is most interesting and deserves careful attention. Pardo-Bazán's reply was to have appeared first, but she delayed somewhat the sending of it. Her answers to Martínez Sierra's five points are lucid but add little to our knowledge of her ideas. Julio Cejador y Frauca, in his reply, makes some of his customary and disobliging references to Doña Emilia and to Burell. On the contrary, Doña Blanca de los Ríos de

14. Eduardo Gómez de Baquero (born 1866) is better known by his pseudonym *Andrenio*. He has published an *Ensayo sobre la condición jurídica de la mujer*.

15. María de Maeztu (born 1882) has much in common with Pardo-Bazán. Although a devout Catholic, she holds progressive views about education, which she has studied throughout Europe. Like Pardo-Bazán, she has a sincere admiration for the pedagogic systems of the Protestant countries. As director of the Residencia de Señoritas (Madrid), she established herself as Spain's leader in practical feminine education.

16. José Francos Rodríguez (1862-1931) was a journalist and politician of varied interests who devoted some time to the feminist question. In this respect must be mentioned his studies *La mujer y la política española* and *Patogenia de la sífilis*.

17. Alberto Insúa (born 1885) was interested in womankind from the erotic viewpoint, as is revealed in nearly all his novels, beginning with *La mujer fácil* (1909).

18. Carmen Rojo (1846-1926) was, until she retired to private life in 1917, Spain's leading female educationalist. Since 1882, she had been director of the Escuela Normal Central de Maestras in Madrid. She took an active part in the Madrid Pedagogical Congress of 1892, at which she discussed the question of feminine education.

19. In Martínez Sierra, *Obras completas*, p. 198.

Lampérez expresses warm admiration for her "illustrious friend" the Countess of Pardo-Bazán.

Another phase of this polemic was more scholarly. The first solid work on the feminist question to appear in Spanish was *Feminismo* by Adolfo Posada, at the time (1899) professor in the University of Oviedo.²⁰ He speaks of Pardo-Bazán in terms of the warmest appreciation (pages 62-64), implying that she was the greatest Spanish writer of her time. The discussion on "feminism" which, as related, began in 1917, was soon taken up by the academic world. Altamira wrote a series of articles all very favorable to Pardo-Bazán. At the Royal Academy of Jurisprudence and Legislation, Doña María Espinosa gave, in January, 1920, a pro-feminist lecture inspired by the ideas of Pardo-Bazán. This provoked a rather irate and decidedly nebulous reply from a certain Diego María Crehuet; his lecture was given on February 7, 1920.²¹ It is surprising that, as we are told in frequent parentheses, it was greeted with loud applause rather than with bursts of laughter. In 1927, Carmen de Burgos, a blue-stocking of Doña Emilia's type (she was professor in the Escuela Normal Central and General President of the Liga Internacional de Mujeres Ibéricas e Hispanoamericanas), published her well-documented feminist book *La mujer moderna y sus derechos*.²² She speaks with great respect of the now-deceased Emilia Pardo-Bazán; she rightly describes her as "an eminent writer whom the world has forgotten too soon" (page 74). Pardo-Bazán's struggles on behalf of the women, and more especially the women writers of Spain, may seem at this moment to have been vain, but she raised an issue which is still not settled, and Spanish women writers will always owe her a debt of gratitude.

Stanford University

20. *Feminismo* (Madrid: Fernando Fe, 1899), p. 296.

21. *El feminismo en los aspectos jurídico-constituyente y literario* (there is no humorous intention in the title), Publicaciones de la Real Academia de Jurisprudencia y Legislación (Madrid: Reus, 1920), p. 47.

22. Valencia: Sempere, 1927, p. 323.

L'HISTOIRE DANS L'ŒUVRE DE SAINT-JOHN PERSE

By René Girard

TOUS LES CRITIQUES ont remarqué qu'en mêlant l'histoire à son œuvre Saint-John Perse a pénétré dans un domaine depuis longtemps méprisé par la poésie. Quoi de plus pauvre, en effet, sous son apparente richesse, de plus suspect même, que le fait historique, aux yeux de poètes contemporains qui n'ont que dédain pour tout ce qui n'est pas conscience pure, "palais fermé de miroirs, que féconde une lampe solitaire," ou qui cherchent au contraire leurs merveilles dans ce qui échappe à cette conscience et reste en deçà du concept? Faut-il donc s'étonner de voir Paul Valéry et André Breton, ces deux étoiles dont les forces d'attractions rivales semblent pour cette fois impuissantes, s'entendre pour vanter les mérites d'un auteur¹ aussi indifférent à l'art poétique du premier qu'aux mots d'ordre du second? Tous n'ont certes pas fait à Perse un accueil aussi favorable. Certains doutaient, comme le rappelle Denis de Rougemont, qu'un "pur délice" pût "entrer dans la durée."² Mais ce que les uns notaient comme une énigme ou une curiosité, ce qui pourrait inciter d'autres à faire à Perse un procès de tendance n'a jamais fait l'objet que de brèves remarques. Il est pourtant clair qu'on ne pourra déterminer, même provisoirement, la place qui revient à Perse dans la poésie contemporaine tant qu'on ne saura pas très précisément ce qu'il faut entendre lorsqu'on parle à son sujet de "présence de l'histoire."

Perse n'écrit pas de "poèmes historiques." L'histoire n'intervient pas chez lui pour fournir un "sujet," c'est-à-dire un événement historique déterminé à propos duquel il écrirait ses poèmes. *Anabase* semble constituer une exception car l'œuvre tout entière paraît située dans un passé lointain. Mais l'histoire est assoiffée de précisions et on s'est efforcé sans succès de localiser dans le temps et dans l'espace l'univers décrit par le poète. Les œuvres de la seconde période, celle qui commence avec *Exil* en 1942, pourraient faire l'objet de recherches aussi vaines qu'*Anabase* si les détails autobiographiques qu'elles contiennent ne paraissaient pas fournir des points de repère certains. Nous savons donc que le "sujet" de ces poèmes est présente de la même manière que dans *Anabase*. C'est donc la forme, c'est-à-dire l'essence de cette poésie qui est affectée par l'histoire.

Lorsqu'on ouvre au hasard un de ces poèmes de la seconde période on

1. Paul Valéry, *Variété* (Paris, 1924), p. 189.

2. "Je suis fier de l'avoir connu si tôt" . . . Saint Léger Léger, Saint-John Perse, est à peu près le seul contemporain dont Paul Valéry—qui admirait si rarement—m'ait parlé en pareils termes." Herbert Steiner, "Amitié du Prince," *Les Cahiers de la Pléiade* (Été-Automne, 1950), p. 31; quant à Breton, voir son essai, "Le Donateur," dans le même numéro des *Cahiers de la Pléiade*, pp. 68-70; ce numéro, tout entier consacré à Perse sera désormais désigné par les initiales CP.

3. Denis de Rougemont, "Saint-John Perse et l'Amérique," CP, p. 136.

constate que le passé s'y introduit de multiples façons: emploi de termes et de tournures archaïques et surtout usage constant d'images et de métaphores historiques ou légendaires:

Et un oiseau de cendre rose, qui fut de braise tout l'été, illumine soudain les cryptes de l'hiver, comme l'oiseau du Phase aux livres de l'An Mille.⁴

Le second terme de l'image, c'est-à-dire son élément explicatif, est précisément celui qui contient la plus grande part d'inconnu; ce premier oiseau qu'un mot de plus nous aurait permis d'identifier est soudain comparé à un second oiseau dont nous ne savons presque rien. Nous étions à peu près rassurés à son égard et le voilà qui hérite d'un peu de ce mystère et de cette angoisse qui restent associés à l'an mille. L'image historique de Perse joue donc un rôle exactement contraire à l'image de l'historien. Car l'historien ne peut pas, non plus, se passer d'images. Si son œuvre n'en est pas constellée c'est parce que la plupart d'entre elles sont sous-entendues. Le second terme de ces images est toujours emprunté au présent, un présent qu'une convention le plus souvent tacite fait considérer comme parfaitement transparent et même créateur d'une lumière qu'on peut toujours emporter avec soi dans l'exploration des zones d'ombre du passé. L'historien assimile toujours l'oiseau médiéval à l'oiseau moderne, assimilation sans laquelle aucune connaissance historique ne serait possible. C'est le contraire qui se produit dans les poèmes de Perse. On peut presque parler d'une "anti-image" et de sa "fonction obscurcissante." L'ombre du passé s'étend sur le poème.

Ne pourrait-on pas être encore plus précis et dire que l'ombre du passé s'étend sur le présent? Nous savons en effet que le sujet de ces poèmes de la seconde période est contemporain. Cet "oiseau de cendre rose" est un oiseau américain. Une telle formule ne pourrait évidemment pas s'appliquer à *Anabase* mais notre désir d'aboutir à des conclusions valables pour toute l'œuvre ne doit pas nous aveugler sur des différences que le long espace de temps séparant les deux périodes de production poétique de Perse rendent possibles sinon probables. C'est donc sans faire appel à *Anabase* qu'il nous faut essayer de montrer que le rôle de l'histoire ne se borne pas à auréoler de passé le présent pour le transfigurer. Prenons par exemples le chant III de *Pluies*, particulièrement riche en images historiques:

Sœurs des guerriers d'Assur furent les hautes Pluies en marche sur la terre:

Casquées de plume et haut-troussées, éperonnées d'argent et de cristal,
Comme Didon foulant l'ivoire aux portes de Carthage,

Comme l'épouse de Cortez, ivre d'argile et peinte, entre ses hautes plantes apocryphes. . .

4. *Neiges*, dans *Exil*, suivi de *Poèmes à l'Etrangère*, *Pluie*, *Neiges* [sic] (Paris, 1946), III.

Elles aviaient de nuit l'azur aux crosses de nos armes,
Elles peupleront l'Avril au fond des glaces de nos chambres!
Et je n'ai garde d'oublier leur piétinement au seuil des chambres
d'ablution:

Guerrières, ô guerrières par la lance et le trait jusqu'à nous aiguës!

Danseuses, ô danseuses par la danse et l'attrait au sol multipliées!

Ce sont des armes à brassées, ce sont des filles par charretées, une
distribution d'aigles aux légions,

Un soulèvement de piques aux faubourgs pour les plus jeunes peuples
de la terre—faisceaux rompus de vierges dissolues,

O grandes gerbes non liées! l'ample et vive moisson aux bras des hommes
inversée!⁵

Même si nous affirmons, par souci de rigueur, que cette pluie n'est pas
n'importe quelle pluie et qu'elle nous ramène à un présent authentiqué
par les quelques détails auto-biographiques que contient le poème, il faut
convenir que ce présent joue un rôle bien médiocre dans cette longue
citation. Ce que nous avons appelé la "fonction obscurcissante" de l'image
ne s'exerce pas ici sur la pluie et son présent hypothétique, mais sur les
autres images qui font surgir une demi-douzaine de "passés" différents:
l'Assyrie, Carthage, le Mexique de la conquête espagnole, Rome, la révo-
lution française peut-être. . . Certains d'entre eux ne sont pas identifiables
avec certitude. Seul compte l'entrechoquement de ces mondes que nous
n'avons pas l'habitude de voir évoqués *ensemble*.

La prédominance de certaines images "géographiques"—tropicales ou
orientales—ne doit pas nous égarer. Du point de vue qui nous occupe, il
n'est pas nécessaire de distinguer ce que Perse annexe dans l'espace de ce
qu'il annexe dans le temps. Il n'est certes pas inutile de constater les
rapports qui unissent l'imagerie du poète à l'expérience du voyageur mais
ce n'est pas le "balancement entre l'Est et l'Ouest" noté par A. Rolland
de Renévill qui détermine son art.⁶ C'est le caractère planétaire et uni-
versaliste de ces images qui est fondamental. Elles englobent toute l'histoire
humaine, de "l'affleurement des grands fossiles aux marnes ruisselantes"⁷
à l'Ouest américain et ses "vastes plaines sans histoire enjambées de
pylones."⁸

On comprend donc pourquoi l'étiquette de "poète exotique" ne convient
pas ici. L'exotisme est toujours dialogue entre deux univers, le monde
occidental et le monde qui le nie. Si maltraitée qu'elle soit, la civilisation
occidentale occupe encore dans la littérature exotique une place centrale
car l'univers qu'on lui oppose n'existe que par et dans cette opposition.
L'Occident, chez Perse, est vraiment déchu car il entre dans le tourbillon
de cultures et de civilisations qu'évoquent les images.

5. *Pluies*, dans *Exil*, etc., III.

6. A. Rolland de Renévill, "D'une chronique miraculeuse," *CP*, p. 76.

7. *Pluies*, dans *Exil*, etc., VIII.

8. *Neiges*, dans *Exil*, etc., II.

Ce changement de perspective, de l'exotisme à Perse, ce passage d'un dualisme plus ou moins conscient de lui-même à un pluralisme prémédité, ce n'est évidemment pas dans le domaine littéraire qu'il a d'abord triomphé mais dans celui des sciences de l'homme. On sait quelles furent ses conséquences. Lorsqu'ils se refusèrent désormais à étudier les autres civilisations du point de vue de la nôtre, historiens et anthropologues découvrirent que la seule chose qui donnait à l'aventure humaine considérée dans son ensemble une apparence d'unité était précisément ce point de vue. Y renoncer, c'est découvrir que le monde est fait de fragments séparés. Les civilisations apparaissent comme des mondes qui ne peuvent pas communiquer entre eux. Elles ne naissent, vivent et meurent que pour être remplacées par d'autres aussi éphémères et isolées qu'elles-mêmes. On sait aussi quelles réflexions pessimistes ont accompagné cette métamorphose de l'histoire. A toute civilisation qui se croit détentrice du secret de la destinée humaine et se proclame chargée d'accomplir celle-ci, on peut opposer les prétentions rivales de civilisations innombrables et toutes défuntes. Il n'y a plus d'absolu; l'homme est condamné au relatif. Le relativisme historique comme thème de désespoir a peut-être reçu sa plus parfaite expression littéraire dans *Les Noyers de l'Altenburg* d'André Malraux:

Si le destin de l'humanité est une Histoire, la mort fait partie de la vie; mais sinon, la vie fait partie de la mort. . . . Si les structures mentales disparaissent sans retour comme le plésiosaure, si les civilisations ne sont bonnes à se succéder que pour jeter l'homme au tonneau sans fond du néant, si l'aventure humaine ne se maintient qu'au prix d'une implacable métamorphose, peu importe que les hommes se transmettent pour quelques siècles leurs concepts et leurs techniques: car l'homme est un hasard, et, pour l'essentiel, le monde est fait d'oubli.⁹

C'est peut-être à la lumière de cette transformation de l'histoire qu'il faut envisager l'œuvre de Perse. Ce n'est sans doute pas une simple coïncidence qui fait se rouvrir au poète les portes du passé au moment précis où tout ce qui semblait prêt à s'éclairer s'enveloppe à nouveau de ténèbres, au moment où s'écroule l'histoire hégélienne qui mettait en quelque sorte le passé au service du présent et fournissait de rassurantes certitudes d'éternité à ce monde moderne tel que le définit Jules Monnerot: "... uniformément rassurant et plat, étalé, étalable, dont la science rend compte, que la technique fait jouer."¹⁰ La nouvelle vision de l'histoire n'est pessimiste que par rapport au mythe moderne d'un monde sans mystère que la poésie n'a jamais accepté.

On voit donc quel allié le relativisme historique peut devenir pour le poète et l'artiste. Il joue dans les dernières œuvres de Malraux le même rôle de combat que la psychanalyse joua jadis aux mains des surréalistes. Ce thème qui nous est constamment présenté comme chargé de désespoir

9. André Malraux, *Les Noyers de l'Altenburg* (Paris, 1948), pp. 141-142.

10. Jules Monnerot, *La Poésie moderne et le sacré* (Paris, 1945), p. 152.

passé à travers l'œuvre comme une brise annonciatrice d'orage dans une atmosphère étouffante. Un rapprochement entre Perse et Malraux serait sans doute très instructif. On constaterait un surprenant accord des thèmes et des images entre ce poète et ce prosateur.

On conçoit maintenant que l'œuvre de Perse puisse mettre en jeu la culture scientifique et historique de son auteur sans que l'intervention de ces connaissances suspectes au poète implique une connivence avec la vision du monde que voulaient lui imposer les positivistes. Alors que la plupart des poètes modernes fuient un univers qu'ils ne croient pas pouvoir reconquérir sur le savant, c'est au sein même de cet univers que Perse va chercher ses armes. Si devant son œuvre, comme l'écrivait André Gide, "le monde occidental recule, dans la conscience et dans l'épouvante de sa hideuse vulgarité,"¹¹ c'est que, une fois niée la vision hégélienne de l'histoire qui lui promettait l'éternité, ce monde n'est plus qu'un monde parmi tant d'autres, ramené au néant par cette confrontation impitoyable. Comme ceux-ci il y trouve la beauté des souvenirs.

L'image chez Perse n'est donc arbitraire que par rapport à une vision du monde qu'elle nie. Le chaos est encore sa seule vérité. Tandis que l'arbitraire surréaliste joue dans toutes les directions car ce sont tous les modes de pensée du monde occidental qu'il s'agit de discréditer, l'arbitraire de Perse joue de préférence dans la série historique et anthropologique. Le surréalisme dénonce le peu de réalité de ce monde, Perse son peu de durée.

Il n'est d'ailleurs pas question de limiter l'œuvre de Perse à cette première négation. Le poème assume le relativisme historique mais ne s'y limite pas. Il ne constitue que le premier moment de la dialectique de l'image.

Si nous relisons le début du chant III de *Pluies*, nous constatons que le caractère hétérogène de ces images et leur "fonction obscurcissante" sont si évidents qu'il devient possible de les nier. Les images se donnent toujours comme des "explications" et nous finissons par nous demander si ce n'est pas seulement notre ignorance de la loi qui préside à leur choix et à leur succession qui leur refuse ce rôle. En fait, seule l'analyse permet de distinguer les moments de cette dialectique de l'image. Plusieurs facteurs qui lui sont étrangers contribuent à rendre immédiate l'impression d'homogénéité que donne le monde de Perse.

Considérées d'un point de vue exclusivement "plastique," les images du passage cité plus haut ne surprennent pas par leur étrangeté mais par leur exactitude. La plupart d'entre elles adhèrent rigoureusement à leur objet. C'est la pluie en train de tomber que décrit le poète. Nous la voyons d'abord fouettée par le vent, "Pluies... casquées de plume et haut-troussées, éperonnées d'argent et de cristal," nous entendons son "piétinement," nous la voyons tomber drue et droite comme mille pointes acérées, "guerrières, ô guerrières par la lance et le trait jusqu'à nous aiguisées,"

11. André Gide, "Don d'un arbre," *CP*, p. 24.

puis rebondir en gouttelettes sur le sol, "danseuses, ô danseuses, par la danse et l'attrait au sol multipliées." Ensuite, le parallélisme de ces dards évoque les images de "faisceaux," de "gerbes" et de "moisson." Seul l'aspect historique de ces images est déroutant mais ce qu'elles ont d'exact et de frappant dans le mode descriptif couvre de son autorité ces bonds perpétuels dans la durée que rien ne légitime.

On constate d'autre part que lorsqu'un des termes de l'image est un objet ou un phénomène naturel l'autre terme est souvent emprunté aux activités de l'homme. Dans l'exemple précédent, la pluie ne semble appeler que des gestes de l'homme ou des objets fabriqués par lui. Ailleurs, Perse associera à l'homme des objets naturels et même des éléments chimiques où l'on verrait volontiers ce qu'il y a de plus "inhumain" dans la nature: "Le nitre et le natron sont thèmes de l'exil."¹² Cette perpétuelle assimilation de la nature à l'homme et de l'homme à la nature suggère évidemment un ordre auquel s'ordonnerait le chaos des images historiques.

Un autre facteur d'homogénéité est l'appareil logique discret mais suffisant qui semble soutenir le poème. A propos de cette rhétorique, Roger Caillois a remarqué qu'elle est destinée "à consolider les énumérations ou, si l'on veut à en garantir insidieusement le bien-fondé."¹³ Tel est évidemment le rôle de "et je n'ai garde d'oublier. . ." dans le chant III de *Pluies*. On doit aussi noter l'emploi de termes disjonctifs et conjonctifs, "et, . . . or, . . . mais, . . . voici que, . . ." qui suggère que, loin d'être arbitrairement mis en présence, les divers éléments du poème se répondent logiquement. Plus important encore est le jeu des temps des verbes qui semble toujours répondre aux exigences de la durée propre du poème. Dans notre exemple, le passage du passé au futur est toujours rationnel par rapport à un présent situé en pleine saison des pluies. Ce présent suit la chute de la pluie, de son début: "Le banyan de la pluie prend ses assises sur la ville," au retour du beau temps: "Le banyan de la pluie perd ses assises sur la ville." Tout au cours du poème on retrouve cette alternance du passé, du présent et du futur, qui nous donne l'impression que le poète rassemble des éléments qu'il ne veut pas laisser épars dans le temps. Mais ce temps là est de la durée vécue, ou son équivalent, qui n'a rien à voir avec les bonds prodigieux que nous font faire les images historiques. Le lecteur est néanmoins peu à peu conduit à ne plus voir que de la durée vécue dans laquelle s'inscriraient tout naturellement même les images historiques.

Très importante aussi comme facteur d'homogénéité est la répétition des sons dans des mots de sens différents, si en faveur chez les poètes dont l'œuvre est liée à une prédication tels que Péguy et Claudel.

Guerrières, ô guerrières par la lance et le trait jusqu'à nous aiguisées!
Danseuses, ô danseuses par la danse et l'attrait au sol multipliées.

12. *Exil*, dans *Exil*, etc., VII.

13. Roger Caillois, "Une Poésie encyclopédique," *CP*, p. 98.

Ici encore, Roger Caillois a bien vu qu' "à l'extrême diversité des sens répond étrangement l'extrême similitude des sons."¹⁴

On ne saurait donc s'étonner si le poème, lorsqu'il ne s'offre plus en fragments séparés par l'analyse mais qu'on l'appréhende dans sa totalité esthétique ne laisse pas une impression de chaos mais une impression d'ordre; l'aisance souveraine avec laquelle on passe d'un univers à l'autre nous force à contester la réalité de ce passage; nous croyons voir l'immobilité derrière ce mouvement perpétuel, l'absolu derrière tous ces relatifs.

C'est l'apparition de cet absolu qui permet d'expliquer pourquoi le mot *rite* est si souvent prononcé à propos de l'œuvre de Perse.¹⁵ Qu'ils soient images ou représentations, la plupart des gestes humains que décrit le poème proviennent d'une civilisation autre que la nôtre; ils n'ont de sens que rattachés à l'absolu qu'ils incarnent; une fois coupés de celui-ci ils deviennent absurdes. C'est forcément dans cet état qu'ils atteignent la conscience historique moderne ou le poème de Perse puisque les valeurs absolues de la civilisation dont ils proviennent n'ont pas survécu à leur confrontation avec d'autres valeurs absolues de provenances différentes. Plus ces gestes deviennent absurdes plus il nous est difficile de les accepter comme tels. Ces signes veulent signifier quelque chose et l'art du poète consiste à suggérer une signification qui les engloberait tous. L'empreinte dont leur sens premier les a marqués est toutefois trop profonde pour que leur relation avec le sens second puisse être autre qu'indirecte, magique, incantatoire, rituelle.

beaucoup de choses sur la terre à entendre et à voir, choses vivantes parmi nous!

des célébrations de fêtes en plein air pour des anniversaires de grands arbres et des cérémonies publiques en l'honneur d'une mare; des dédicaces de pierres noires, parfaitement rondes, des inventions de sources en lieux morts, des consécration d'étoffes à bout de perches, aux approches des cols et des acclamations violentes, sous les murs, pour les mutilations d'adultes au soleil, pour des publications de linges d'épousailles.¹⁶

Ce qui s'éclaire de la même manière, c'est l'impression d'un monde régi par un système de *castes* que donnent les poèmes de Perse. Considérées hors de la société où elles se sont exercées, beaucoup d'activités humaines perdent leur sens. Une fois de plus c'est l'absurde qui apparaît lorsque s'élargit la perspective historique. C'est lui qui nous menace lorsque nous lisons ces longues listes de "métiers" qu'affectionne Perse. Ceux-ci sont empruntés à des civilisations multiples ou sont tout simplement imaginés par le poète. Mais, plus s'aiguise notre conscience de l'absurde, plus intense se fait notre besoin d'un univers intelligible. Ces métiers

14. Ibid.

15. Gaëtan Picon, "le plus hautainement libre . . .", CP, p. 73.

16. *Anabase* (Paris, 1948), X.

invraisemblables ne peuvent évidemment pas s'organiser en un système social cohérent, c'est-à-dire reposant sur des réalités politiques ou économiques imaginables. Il faut donc que le social s'ordonne en fonction de quelque chose qui soit hors de lui. C'est précisément ce qui se passe dans un système de castes où le social est un reflet du religieux. Nous voilà ramenés à cet absolu qui se profile toujours derrière l'absurde.

Ces remarques sur le rite et la caste nous permettent d'étendre nos conclusions à *Anabase* qui n'offre pas ce choc perpétuel entre des mondes incompatibles sur lequel nous avons bâti notre analyse mais qui semble au contraire présenter le tableau d'une civilisation homogène. Cette homogénéité est du même ordre que celle qu'on découvre dans les autres poèmes de Perse. Elle est "au-delà" de l'hétérogène. Ce qui est image dans *Exil* ou dans *Pluies* est souvent représentation dans *Anabase*. Les gestes absurdes sont décrits passionnément comme s'ils étaient les seuls gestes possibles. Derrière eux surgit le sacré, un sacré qui s'impose avec d'autant plus de force qu'on côtoie de plus près le néant.

ha! toutes sortes d'hommes dans leurs voies et façons: mangeurs d'insectes, de fruits d'eau; porteurs d'emplâtres, de richesses; l'agriculteur et l'adalingue, l'acuponcteur et le saunier; le péager, le forgeron. . . celui qui trouve son emploi dans la contemplation d'une pierre verte; qui fait brûler pour son plaisir un feu d'écorces sur son toit. . .¹⁷

La poésie de Perse ne passe donc au "positif" que par excès de "négatif." Ceci explique qu'on ait pu porter à son sujet des jugements aussi divers que ceux de Pierre Jean Jouve qui écrit: "Le fond demeure un puissant état de néant où la personne tente de déchiffrer le monde; et l'on ne distingue aucune présence supérieure au chagrin de l'homme,"¹⁸ et celui de Roger Caillois qui soutient que "des images innombrables que les siècles ont assemblées en de longues chroniques solitaires, que les distances ont réparties dans les continents par larges fresques indépendantes, il compose un monde pour la première fois un."¹⁹ La contradiction entre ces deux jugements n'est qu'apparente mais Roger Caillois a tort, nous semble-t-il, de parler de "poésie encyclopédique"; l'être de cette poésie ne se saisit qu'à travers le néant; il n'est pas fait d'une simple accumulation de détails; on ne neut en effet additionner que des objets de même nature. Il est donc clair que la poésie de Perse ne sort pas des cadres de la poésie contemporaine mais elle accomplit par la surabondance ce que tant d'autres veulent trouver dans le dépouillement. Au-delà des apparences et de leur trompeuse richesse, on découvre "un grand poème né de rien, un grand poème fait de rien. . ."²⁰

Ce centre immobile au milieu du mouvement, cet intemporel dans la

17. Ibid.

18. Pierre Jean Jouve, "*Exil*," CP, p. 57.

19. Roger Caillois, "Une Poésie encyclopédique," CP, p. 98.

20. *Exil*, dans *Exil*, etc., II.

durée n'est en effet que le résultat d'une deuxième négation. A la négation d'un univers dont le sens nous est donné par les philosophes rationalistes succède le refus de l'univers brisé qui nous reste entre les mains. Le poète ne peut pas renoncer à trouver le sens de l'univers. Il est au nombre des "grands aventuriers de l'âme . . . interrogeant la terre entière sur son aire pour connaître le sens de ce très grand désordre."²¹ Et l'on ne doit pas voir dans ce refus une contradiction avec ce qui précède, un simple caprice, un besoin d'évasion hors du "réel," car l'histoire ne peut pas nous forcer à faire nôtre sa vision de chaos. Elle est la première victime de sa propre "rigueur scientifique." Plus elle veut serrer le "fait" de près, plus l'homme apparaît comme emprisonné dans sa civilisation. Il est évident qu'elle ne peut pas retrouver à l'arrivée la liberté humaine qu'elle a soigneusement éliminée au départ. Mais avec la suppression de cette liberté c'est la notion même d'histoire qui se trouve menacée:

De beaux fragments d'histoires en dérive, sur des pales d'hélices, dans le ciel plein d'erreurs et d'errantes prémisses se mirent à virer pour le délice du scholaste.²²

Le poète rend la vie avec sa liberté à cet univers inhumain de l'historien. La sérénité avec laquelle il survole des obstacles qui devraient être infranchissables nous suggère des pouvoirs divins, un contact direct avec quelque absolu situé derrière le poème. Seul un point d'appui hors du monde nous semble en effet capable d'ordonner ce chaos. Mais cette cause unique que nous croyons pouvoir assigner à ces effets toujours semblables que nous constatons sur les matériaux du poème, cette faculté de renouer ce qui est délié n'est évidemment ni supérieure ni extérieure au poème; elle ne peut se définir qu'en termes esthétiques. Le poème n'a pas d'autre "vérité" que lui-même. Cet univers n'est donc "un" que de la manière dont nous voyons un disque plein lorsque ces pales d'hélices dont parle le poète tournent assez rapidement. Il faut savoir leur imprimer ce mouvement qui fera d'elles choses de plénitude et d'immobilité. C'est là que réside le secret de Perse, secret que les remarques précédentes n'ont pas la prétention de forcer. Il n'est certes pas question de réduire cet art à un processus mécanique ou dialectique. On peut toutefois isoler certains des éléments qu'il met en jeu et constater que, si arbitraires qu'elles paraissent au premier abord, les relations ambiguës qui s'établissent entre ceux-ci correspondent assez exactement aux hésitations de la conscience moderne à qui une histoire encombrante semble interdire l'accès de ces valeurs absolues dont elle ressent si fortement le besoin.

Duke University

21. *Vents* (Paris, 1946), III.

22. *Exil*, dans *Exil*, etc., IV.

REVIEWS

The Mirror of Love. A Reinterpretation of The Romance of the Rose.
By Alan M. F. Gunn. Lubbock, Texas: Texas Tech Press, 1952. Pp.
xvi + 592.

To a student who prepared his doctorate in English at Princeton University must go the credit for the reassessment and rehabilitation of a masterpiece of Old French literature. It is understandable, to be sure, that so great a work as Ernest Langlois' monumental edition of the *Roman de la Rose* for the Société des Anciens Textes Français should have extended the weight of its authority beyond the text to the interpretation as well. Langlois, reflecting earlier adverse judgments and inducing similar reservations on the part of such medievalists as Jeanroy, Faral, Kittredge, and Lowes, helped set the pattern whereby Jean de Meun's contribution to Lorrain's allegory has been viewed as a loosely-ordered series of dissertations, a monstrous tail of 18,000 verses, digressive, prolix, discontinuous, distorting the original poem. Professor Alan M. F. Gunn has discovered a cosmos, where, according to tradition, only chaos existed. He was led to this fresh insight through an examination of the structure of the romance, which he undertook in order to study its influence on the art of Chaucer.¹

Scholars were in agreement that Guillaume de Lorrain's theme was love, "and his purpose the teaching of its theory and practice, directly through Amors' discourse, and indirectly through the allegorical narrative" (pages 18-19). Jean de Meun lacked any "shaping purpose," or so it seemed, other than some means to exhibit his erudition. Professor Gunn shows very clearly that the work was not intended, however, to be an encyclopedia, for from the point of view of form and its use of sources, it does not correspond to the *Summa*, the *Image du Monde*, or the *Trésor* type of compendium. According to the poet's own testimony, and that of his contemporaries and later Renaissance writers, it was a "mirror of love."

Book II (there are seven in all) explains the rhetorical pattern of the romance as a whole. It combines the method of allegorical narrative with direct exposition. The theme is developed on two different planes, that of the narrative and that of the argument.

At the same time, each line of structure—narrative or argument—is not only a distinct entity, having its own design, but is also an integral part of the other aspect of the poem. The line of argument rises out of the line of narrative; then in turn reacts upon it and determines its course, serving sometimes to retard or altogether suspend the action, sometimes to illustrate it, sometimes to motivate

1. The present book is a revision of his thesis published in microfilm by University Microfilm of Ann Arbor, Michigan, under the title "A Reinterpretation of the *Roman de la Rose*: A Study in Chaucerian Background" (1942).

it, sometimes to threaten the lover's success and sometimes to promote it, but always to exert an influence of one kind or another upon his pursuit of the Rose. (Pages 65-66.)

It is always the *sententia* that matters, not getting on with the story. The narrative of events is essentially a sustained metaphor of the truth the allegorist has chosen to set forth. The movement and tempo (retardations, suspensions, etc.) have an expository function, as do the various episodes themselves. The great proof of Jean de Meun's creative power "lies in the fact that the image he made is in the deviousness and complexity of its patterns, in its circuitous movements, the very type of what he sought to represent. For the involved structure of the completed *Roman de la Rose* is an accurate chart, a faithful mirror of the involutions of love's course" (page 75).

In a chapter called "The Branching Tree of Rhetoric" Professor Gunn describes and defends the rhetorical figure *amplificatio*, which is neither mere elongation, inflation, or ornamentation but the essential medieval device of expository composition. He lists the *figurae sententiae* and *figurae verborum* used, and in a fourteen-page Appendix outlines the rhetorical scheme of the whole poem. He cites among the triumphs of medieval rhetoric:

the *contentio-frequentatio* by which Raison describes love, 4293-4334; the *comparatio* of Youth and Age in the same discourse, 4433-4544; Raison's *interrogatio* or challenge to l'Amant, 5795-5838, her *exemplum* of Croesus, 6489-6622, or Amis' *exemplum* of Lucrece, 8608-8660; the vivid and yet fully conventional *descriptio* of Ovid's Hunger in Richece' discourse, 10163-10181; the *descriptiones* of Contrainte Astenance and Faus Semblant in the disguises with which they deceive Male Bouche, 12033 ff.; the *comparatio-contentio* of Nature's work with that of Death, 15900-16012; an almost classical instance of *descriptio* by means of the highly rhetorical device of *occupatio*, in which the poet refuses to attempt the task of describing the beauty of Nature, 16165-16248; and the *permutatio* of the three Fates, 19753-19864. (Pages 125-126.)

These figures are not so many beads on a string, but rather built one upon the other in elaborate vertical structures, clearly premeditated.

The two chapters of Book III analyse the "Discourses of Love" and the "Quest of the Rose." The subject of Lorriss' part was the theory and art of love according to the precepts of courtly love, yet he promised to compose a poem "ou l'Art d'Amors est toute enclose." Jean de Meun fulfills this promise with a comprehensive treatment. Raison's discourse, a prospectus of the new line of arguments and the *afferre contrarium* of Amors' teachings, is therefore not only relevant but central. In answer to charges of perfunctory interest in the Rose-quest narrative, of inept management and constant deviation, Professor Gunn points up the coherence of his continuation of the quest, the causal relations of the successive episodes,

the direction of his narrative movement, the internal proportions and points of emphasis. He finds that the completed allegory divides into seven relatively-even parts, each section beginning and ending with critical events in the lover's pursuit of the Rose, with the turning point coming midway. His table (page 198) follows:

Part I	87-3947	3861 verses
Part II	3948-7230	3283 verses
Part III	7231-10306	3076 verses
Part IV	10307-12540	2234 verses
Part V	12541-15890	3350 verses
Part VI	15891-19443	3553 verses
Part VII	19444-21780	2337 verses

Having successfully explained the narrative scheme of Jean de Meun's portion of the romance, Professor Gunn now proceeds to the *significatio*—its metaphysical or cosmological meanings, its psychological significance, its relation to the structure of the completed allegory. The aspect of love which receives special emphasis is the love which arises from the generative instinct, and whose aim is to fill up the ranks of mankind depleted by death. The background for this conception was brilliantly expounded in Professor A. O. Lovejoy's *The Great Chain of Being*. The doctrines of plenitude and continuity lead to the idea of replenishment, with its corollary phallicism, so evident in the closing section of the poem. This thought appears to be a logical sequel to Bernard Sylvester's *De Mundi Universalitate*, and is present even more explicitly in Jean de Meun's chief source, Alanus de Insulis' *De Planctu Naturae*. The so-called digressive discussions, such as those concerning alchemy, astrology, meteorology, mirrors and optical science, all relate to his philosophy of generation. In fact, among the poets of his day, Jean de Meun becomes the supreme celebrant of God's plenitude.

A chapter on "Youth's Entelechy" expounds the theme of youth's progress toward emotional and intellectual maturity, whereby he will fulfill his duty to God and Nature in perpetuating his kind. Once again the "irrelevant" discourses, those of Raison, Amis, Richece, La Vieille, etc., prove to be essential, since they are the chief means of educating the lover. A following chapter "A World of Myth and Symbol" leads Professor Gunn to express this tribute: "Yet Jean de Meun was above all a poet; and it is his greatest achievement that he was able, while making use of rhetoric and logic, while grounding his work upon them, to transform both rhetoric and logic into true poetic, and to body forth, through his shaping and prolific imagination, a world of myth and symbol inspired by conceptions at once bold and venerable concerning the creation and the sustaining of the universe and of man" (page 314).

Book V takes up "The Grand Debate," a major structural element of

the *Rose*. Not a conventional, face-to-face debate, but nevertheless a systematic disputation among the various counsellors of l'Amant and his beloved. Lorris' part is carefully integrated into a consciously designed pattern of contradiction, "a complex and subtly organized yet fully integrated dialectic and poetic cosmos" (page 345). Book VI "The Sources of Conflict" describes more precisely the realms of value represented by youth's counsellors and looks for the sources and the causes of the diverse doctrines. Among the systems reflected in the debate are the ethical code of courtly society (viewed sympathetically by Jean de Meun who keeps Lorris' hero a chivalric lover to the end), the realm of Raison—an other-worldly system of values in the idealistic, Boethian tradition, the earthly domains of Amis and La Vieille who represent human experience as recorded by the different sexes and by divergent human types, Venus—sexual union as an end in itself, and finally the cosmic plane of Nature "fount of incomparable and indescribable beauty" and Genius, who stand for the creative and generative forces of the natural order. Treated unsympathetically are the realms of Richece and Faus Semblant.

A brief chapter on the "Question d'amour" shows the *Roman de la Rose* to be the culmination or focal point of the erotic literature and doctrines of the past, here woven into an original work of art. The following chapter "Youth's Psychomachia" demonstrates how the actual conflict of values takes place within the soul of youth, for the arguments of the "doctors of love" are in large part the reflection of the strenuous conflict of desire, prudence, sentiment, and conscience within youth itself. The final chapter of Book VI "The Medieval 'Conflictus'" relates Jean de Meun's systematic pluralism to the tensions and antagonisms of the period. Professor Gunn suggests a parallel with Siger de Brabant's doctrine of "double truth." "For as the unity which we have been taught to regard as characteristic of medieval culture is expressed in the *Divina Commedia*, so its often unrecognized but perhaps more characteristic diversity is expressed in the *Roman de la Rose*" (page 480).

The final Book calls for a reversal of judgment, and the reader is forced to agree that judged by medieval or modern standards Jean de Meun has created a masterpiece. The demonstration is all the more convincing because Professor Gunn in his last chapter, "The Final Issues," takes note of his poet's limitations. The fundamental conflict of his age "committed by its religion and its philosophy at once to a belief in the goodness of God's creation and to a contempt for the delights and values of this world" admits of resolution in literature through tragedy, "through its *catharsis* of pent-up anxiety and tension by means of pity and fear." But Jean de Meun "in genius and in method, was primarily a master of comedy." The happy ending was required by his philosophy of plenitude. Furthermore, the allegorical medium, the didactic purpose, inhibit a full emotional response. There is some lack of immediacy and concreteness. Yet

Professor Gunn finds that Jean de Meun "was moving toward just such a greater concreteness and objectivity as the *conflictus* of his age required for its solution," and thus the poet was a "harbinger of the matured artist we find in the Chaucer of the *Troilus* and the *Tales*."

There are many insights and issues which this review leaves unmentioned, yet it should be clear that the present work is one of the few great "fructifying" studies that have been made in the field of Old French literature. The wealth of detail, the solid craftsmanship, the numerous notes, the elaborate critical apparatus (Appendix, Bibliography, Indexes, *Addenda et Corrigenda*), the remarkably accurate translations from the Old French, all inspire confidence, and make this investigation the starting point for future literary criticism of the *Roman de la Rose*, and required reading for students of the period.

LAWTON P. G. PECKHAM

Columbia University

Agrippa d'Aubigné's *Les Tragiques*. *A Study of the Baroque Style in Poetry*. By Imbrie Buffum. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951. Pp. 151

The avowed intention of Mr. Buffum's book makes it necessary to come at it from two directions. "It is the aim of this book to present the *Tragiques* of Agrippa d'Aubigné as an example of the baroque style in poetry." So reads the opening sentence of the introduction. Thus, at the very outset we are confronted with two problems: the poetry of d'Aubigné on the one hand, and the question of the baroque style on the other. Any analysis of poetry will of course always be problematical; we assume this. But, conversely, we cannot at all assume that the baroque question has been settled. Mr. Buffum, I am afraid, does make this assumption and feels therefore able to treat the two problems as though they were one. This does not make things any easier for the reviewer. Let us however try to face our two tasks one after the other. First the *Tragiques* without worrying about the baroque.

To give an idea of Mr. Buffum's approach I can do no better than to begin by mentioning some of the characteristics which in his opinion define d'Aubigné's poem (they may be found listed in the table of contents). They are: *Energy*, as expressed in the propagandistic spirit of the whole work, in its devices of emphasis and exaggeration, its obsession with horror and martyrdom; *Spectacle*, in its theatricality and its use of the *merveilleux chrétien*; *Incarnation*, in its concrete and sensuous imagery, its personification, its radiance and its erotic ecstasy; *Paradox and Mutability*, in various figures of speech and rhetorical devices; and finally (somewhat tautologically?) *Baroque Elaboration*, with Mr. Buffum reinforcing his argument by comparing the paraphrases of two psalms, one by Crashaw, the other by d'Aubigné.

That the *Tragiques* possesses these qualities and peculiarities is con-

vincingly and generously illustrated by quotations which are analyzed in detail. Though these analyses are occasionally labored, and though I might question the suitability of a quotation here and there, still there can be no question about Mr. Buffum's care and thought in reading the text of d'Aubigné's poem. In addition, frequent allusions are made to comparable stylistic effects in the other arts. This procedure is to me as disturbing as it is reassuring. Again it depends upon certain assumptions about those other arts which everyone might not be willing to make. But it is a good game and Mr. Buffum's acquaintance in these matters is impressive.

All things considered, it is encouraging to see that American students of European literature are doing more and more the sort of thing that Mr. Buffum has done. Close stylistic examination of important works and especially of verse has not in the past been the strong point of our training in European literary studies. Long dominated by a rather narrow conception of philology and history, drawn to the study of literature because of a linguistic rather than a literary skill or interest, and destined therefore to teach (now more than before at the college level, it seems) foreign *languages*, we have had, most of us, little sense, either inborn or developed, of the literary reality. But now—perhaps it is only an illusion—it is my feeling that we are coming to understand more how desirable, how necessary it is to unite sensitive critical perception with serious erudition. It may be that we do not yet understand quite so well how rare and difficult such a union is, but any effort in this direction is all to the good.

Which brings me to the consideration of the second problem. The analysis of d'Aubigné's poem is made in the light of a larger question of style and terminology. When this is done it is easy to blur the subject. The study of a poet like d'Aubigné needs no justification, and so one feels somewhat cheated when the conclusion seems to be not: this is the way d'Aubigné writes, but: yes, we may safely call him baroque. In the course of his scrutiny Mr. Buffum has indeed revealed much of the poet's manner, yet somehow this is all finally secondary and his main satisfaction seems to lie in having demonstrated the applicability of a controversial term. And so I miss a sense of the poem as a whole and even a sense of the separate cantos. What, for instance, of d'Aubigné's statement that he meant certain of the cantos to be in the low tragic style, others in the middle tragic style, and still others in the high tragic style? What is the place of each canto in the whole, and what is the shape of the whole?

Now one may argue that these are unfair questions since Mr. Buffum is primarily interested in the poem as an *example* of the baroque style. But then we are in even greater difficulty. If the *Tragiques* is taken to represent a general style called baroque I must be fairly certain of what that style means to me and in history. Well, Mr. Buffum in his Introduc-

tion asserts that d'Aubigné's life (1552-1630) covers "the period which, in the plastic arts of Europe, is characterized by the baroque style" (page 1). But further on one reads, "As we survey the field of the fine arts we find that the period generally considered as baroque extends from the 1530's until the latter half of the seventeenth century" (page 5). Then Mr. Buffum explains the paucity of his references to the French plastic arts as follows: "It must indeed be admitted that, while the baroque style dominates the painting, sculpture and architecture of most of Europe at the turn of the century, it does not appear to affect these arts in France until somewhat later, and then only to a lesser degree" (page 5). But he continues, "However, there appear to be striking parallels between *Les Tragiques* and the baroque of other countries; in France d'Aubigné is a precursor. It should be further emphasized that elsewhere in Europe the baroque continues to flourish for many years after the publication of *Les Tragiques*: Bernini's masterpiece 'Santa Teresa' dates from 1646, and Murillo lived until 1682" (ibid.). Finally in the Conclusion Mr. Buffum thinks that the baroque period ought to be limited approximately to the years 1550-1650 (pages 148-149).

I cannot quite put all of this together. When we remember that Weisbach runs the baroque through Tiepolo and that almost any modern musicologist considers Bach to be the master of the baroque, it is all very confusing.

That the poet in question should be d'Aubigné does not simplify matters. Mr. Buffum calls him a precursor. But he also believes that "d'Aubigné, better perhaps than any of his contemporaries, represents the spirit of his time" (page 1). In such a context I am left simply not knowing what to do with Mr. Buffum's d'Aubigné. What *was* d'Aubigné's time? What do I make of the fact that the *Tragiques*, begun in the 1570's, was published for the first time only in 1616, and, after a second edition around 1620, was virtually forgotten until the nineteenth century? Mr. Buffum says that Boileau did not deign to mention d'Aubigné in his *Art poétique*, but adds, "one can feel certain that he disapproved of *Les Tragiques*" (page 55). I am not at all certain of this. How do I know that he ever read the poem? From Brantôme to Baillet apparently not a word (I am open to correction here) was said of this rough and partisan work. Even Ronsard suffered no such eclipse, and his defects, if not his merits continued to be discussed. D'Aubigné was not even a controversial figure. "Sa renommée est l'œuvre du XIX^e siècle," said Marcel Hervier in his *Les Ecrivains français jugés par leurs contemporains* (I, 98) where he was forced to fall back on d'Aubigné's own comments for anything resembling a contemporary judgement.

This oddity could be explained by the subject matter, which had lost much of its heat by the end of the sixteenth century; or by the fact that the work was admittedly inspirational, difficult and unpolished, having been composed, as d'Aubigné said in his preface, on horseback and in the

trenches; or finally by its language, which, again by d'Aubigné's admission, was as dated as its subject. In any case it would seem that the poet represented his time only too well. If Boileau did read the *Tragiques* he probably found it largely meaningless and dull. What then does Mr. Buffum mean when he calls d'Aubigné a precursor? If this is the case what do we do with Malherbe who was very nearly d'Aubigné's contemporary?

The problem is further complicated by Mr. Buffum's assumption that the style called "classic" (which he opposes to the baroque) is characterized by "serenity, abstraction, and order" (page 149). Now if Mr. Buffum is thinking of seventeenth-century French classicism I protest violently. But he may be thinking of classicism in a Renaissance or Wölfflinian sense. It is true that he appears to identify it with Descartes. But this does not help us much, because Descartes falls within that period 1550-1650 which Mr. Buffum regards as the decent limits of the literary baroque. And if we accept these limits, how do we accommodate Pascal, whom Mr. Buffum seems to accept as a baroque prose writer, following M. W. Croll? (page 68). Finally the work of Spitzer, Hatzfeld and others has shown us that the writers of the later seventeenth century in France possess precisely those qualities which in Mr. Buffum's opinion distinguish d'Aubigné!

Now Mr. Buffum has a perfect right to take his stand and draw the baroque line at 1650. He is in respectable company. But I think he is bound to recognize that this view is far from being unanimously accepted. It is not my place here to argue one view or the other; I am concerned rather to point out that the study of d'Aubigné the poet suffers because the reader must continually ask himself the questions which I have asked in this review. Indeed this involvement of an individual work, and a peculiar one at that, with a disputed stylistic category might well serve as an example for those who would wash their hands of the whole approach and revert to the study of the individual artist as such, seen as creating his own style. Whatever else it may be, d'Aubigné's style is at least pure d'Aubigné.

Yet, insofar as the subject of Mr. Buffum's study may be said to be the poetry of the *Tragiques*, it has been illuminated if not clearly defined. And considering the really appalling scarcity of serious American books about even the greatest French writers, it is good that this one was written.

E. B. O. BORGERHOFF

Princeton University

The Philosophy of the Enlightenment. By Ernst Cassirer. Translated by Fritz C. A. Koelln and James P. Pettegrove. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951. Pp. viii + 366.

The publishers and translators of this work, by making it readily available to the American scholars, all too many, who suffer from a language

handicap, have rendered a great service to our understanding of eighteenth-century thought. The format is pleasing, the text is produced with editorial care. This is the type of book that our American University Presses should publish and know how to publish well. The translation reads with clarity and ease, no slight feat in itself. The translators have intervened only rarely, where a suitable equivalent of a German work is lacking and its specific connotation must be indicated. The excuse for reviewing a book that appeared some twenty years ago lies in the ignorance or laziness of those of us who have never before been privileged to view comprehensively the richness of Cassirer's contribution. It is a book to be digested first, and then referred to time and again for special investigations. The systematic division of chapters and an index of proper names greatly facilitate its usefulness.

The special significance of Cassirer's book has been too aptly described by Professor Charles W. Hendel to escape quotation: "This is a philosopher's work as well as that of the historian, for it is illuminated by a synoptic vision so that art, science, history, religion, civilization, all expressions of the creativity of man, are seen together and in significant relation to one another. Here we have a superb achievement both in intellectual history and in philosophy." Cassirer points in his Preface to an intensive rather than extensive approach, a search in the philosophy of the century for a unity of conceptual origin and underlying principle, where partial critics have seen only irreconcilable contradictions and an eclectic mixture of heterogeneous thoughts. He adopts Spinoza's motto: "Smile not, lament not, nor condemn; but understand." While defending the Enlightenment against the adverse criticism of Hegel and the Romantic Movement, he eschews all polemical intent. His is a sympathetic understanding, however, for he believes that "the time is ripe for applying self-criticism to the present age, for holding up to it that bright clear mirror fashioned by the Enlightenment." He also shows his admiration for its humanism, the dramatic action of its thinking, its intellectual energy and enthusiasm, its process of doubting and tearing down, always for purposes of reconstruction.

Following D'Alembert, Cassirer sees the French Enlightenment as "an exaltation of ideas, a ferment or lively effervescence of minds." By mid-century, Reason has received a new definition, brought about by an alliance of the positive and rational spirits, molded on the patterns of the natural sciences. Nature becomes more than the realm of eternal verities, it is also the substratum of scientific truths. The purpose of the Enlightenment was not to transcend the empirical world but to make man feel at home in it. Another great step in advance of Descartes towards a pluralistic universe was Leibniz's monad as a dynamic living center of energy, characteristically transformed by Diderot, through Maupertuis, from a metaphysical concept into a physical organic molecule. Cartesian mechanism

thus yields to organism, transformism, and a dynamic philosophy of Nature. The truth of nature was sought not in God's word but in His work: Newton had accomplished what Galileo proposed, and had revealed God to Voltaire. But since man exists in organic as well as physical nature, mathematics yields its central position to biology and general physiology. To quote Diderot, "A new order of things is born." The core of the new order is ethics, based on determinism—which culminates in Diderot's jest, *Jacques le fataliste*. The foundations of this empirical philosophy could lead only to D'Alembert's pragmatic assent or, with transcendence rejected, to Hume's scepticism. In Germany, Leibniz continued to be a salutary check, even though his chief work, *New Essays on the Human Understanding*, was not published until 1765. The road was kept open for Kant.

Psychology was posited as the foundation of epistemology and was linked to natural science. Psychological empiricism was forced, however, to base itself on the inductively unprovable axiom that there is nothing in the intellect not first in sense. (The contrary, however, expressed in new terms, still has the philosophical world divided into two camps.) Cassirer clearly shows how Locke was modified by Condillac and Berkeley, understands the importance of Molyneux's problem concerning the origin of the idea of space, but is unimpressed by Diderot's tentative solutions. The concept of the subjectivity of all sensory qualities inspired Swift, Voltaire (*Micromégas*), and Diderot, to superior literary achievements. But Locke's influence is treated as generally nefarious. Empiricism was unable to solve the question of the nature and origin of the pure idea of relation. In Germany, Leibniz's principles of unity in multiplicity and pre-established harmony, bringing order, beauty, and love in their train, again saved the day. Psychological empiricism is presented as a useful and at times exciting failure between the metaphysics of Leibniz and the transcendental theories of Kant.

In Cassirer's opinion, the Enlightenment as a whole cannot be justly considered a basically irreligious age. It was imbued rather with a profound humanistic religious spirit, which was considered the core of all religions, and proclaimed a new form of faith, the faith of reason, a faith in the reformation of the world. The demand for tolerance was not based on indifference. Bayle, Diderot and Voltaire forcefully asserted that honest intellectual doubt was not punishable either by God or man. Doubt was considered the beginning of wisdom, dogma its dead end. Freedom of faith and conscience became a new and positive religious force. Diderot would liberate God from the walls of the temple: "See Him everywhere where He actually is, or else say that He does not exist at all." Voltaire would liberate Him from the limitations of Biblical and Christian interpretation. The dogma of original sin was almost universally condemned. Although Leibniz had exhausted the problem of theodicy, Voltaire, in *Babouc*,

Lisbon, Candide, exploited its literary possibilities. The moral deism of Bayle, Tindal, and Voltaire, triumphed until it was overtaken (if it was) by Hume's radical philosophical skepticism and devastating natural history of religion. The principle of the verbal inspiration of the Bible was successfully undermined, and Diderot's encyclopedic article ("Bible") clearly set forth the main tasks of Biblical criticism. Protestant Germany, sloughing off its historical roots, was more receptive than France or England to the new spirit.

Cassirer ends his chapter in praise of Lessing, who was finally able to create a new synthesis of the historical and the rational—and of Herder, who opened up the whole horizon of the historical world; not without great help, however, from the historians of the Enlightenment, who, in spite of Romantic opinion, had a true conception of the historical world and successfully elaborated the principles of modern historical studies. For in spite of the Romantics' claim to historical sense, they could never place their forebears in proper historical perspective. Cassirer gives Bayle full credit for his critical spirit and improvement of the certainty of historical knowledge. Montesquieu begins with facts and derives principles from them, but leaves room for first principles. Voltaire found an immutable element in human nature and produced the first cultural history of man's self-liberation. His weaknesses were in temperament and personality rather than in method. But with Vico unknown until Herder, it was the latter's philosophy of history which constituted "one of the greatest intellectual triumphs of the philosophy of the Enlightenment."

Under the heading of "Law, State, and Society," the principle of inalienable rights is first discussed. The problem goes back to Plato and the nature of justice. The great humanist, Grotius, and Pufendorf set the principles of natural law against theocracy and Leviathan. Against Locke's relativism, Voltaire appeals to a universal law of morality, for which Diderot finds a more solid base in the identity of men's psychophysiological make-up. These tendencies lead to the doctrine of human and civil rights, which come, not from America, as Jellinek argued, but from the whole spirit of the age. The French Enlightenment, describable as intellect in action, gave these rights their impetus and explosive power. Concerning the Social Contract, Rousseau agreed with Hobbes that there is no natural social instinct in man, that sympathy affords no real basis for society, but argued that Hobbes' covenant of subjection was unethical, unstable, and unbinding. Rousseau's solution through the consent of a somewhat metaphysical general will elicited the praise of Kant, whose own systematic edifice "overshadows the Enlightenment even while it represents its final glorification." That is Cassirer's interpretation; but

1. According to the translators (p. 218, n. 27), Cassirer, in his *Essay on Man* (Yale University Press, 1944), expressed as his own view a conception of history which very closely resembled Voltaire's.

let us look again. The "methodological limits" of the French *philosophes* produced Montesquieu's balance of powers and the doctrine of human and civil rights, whereas the logical, transcendental systematizers who followed Kant developed the doctrine of totalitarianism. Perhaps something may still be said for pragmatic assent, for an empiricism more psychologically adapted to human nature. It will be refreshing at this point to turn to Cassirer's later work, *The Myth of the State*. Yet even there, he was not ready to admit the possible maleficent influence of certain aspects of the myth of Plato's *Republic*.

Cassirer lingers long and lovingly over the final chapter on fundamental problems of esthetics. He sees that the movement of ideas in esthetic theory paralleled that of philosophy in general and more important, that through esthetic theory a synthesis of the main philosophical problem was finally achieved. The eighteenth century broke down both doctrinal esthetics and the rationalized esthetics of French classicism, but ran the risk of reaching an impasse in the esthetics of pathos (Dubos), sensory subjectivism (Hume), or irrational empiricism (Diderot). The first great impetus towards a systematized, transcendental esthetics—the only kind that could satisfy the author—was given by Shaftesbury, who by-passed Locke, and from Plato, Aristotle, and Plotinus, derived his theory that genius is, like Nature, a productive, formative creative force. The artist has an intuitive, immediately perceived understanding of the inner intellectual structure of the universe—which is both truth and beauty. Young then added the notion of magic, which he discovered in the works of Shakespeare and Milton, and Burke showed how the sublime transcends our common notions of harmony and proportion. It remained for Alexander Baumgarten to lead the Enlightenment out of the labyrinth of phenomenal reality into the intelligible world, the realm of the noumena. His great merit was to set the limits of formal logic and define esthetics as "sensitive knowledge" or "sensory cognition," a knowledge of the dark and indistinct, but also through the comprehension of an immanent mode of existence, a perception of wholes, the beauty of which logical analysis would destroy. Thus we arrive at the end product of the Enlightenment in Herder and Lessing and Kant, at a new ideal of humanity. The chapter ends in generous praise of Lessing.

The author admits, to be sure, Lessing's debt to the European Enlightenment: "There is scarcely a single aesthetic concept in Lessing which did not have its exact parallel . . . in the writings of Baumgarten, the Swiss critics, Shaftesbury, Dubos, or Diderot." Students of the French Enlightenment will feel that Diderot is especially slighted in this chapter, which mentions only his weaker side, and will pit his flashes of esthetic insight and his seminal mind against the systematizing minds of the German philosophers. Condillac and Diderot and Voltaire were anything but systematic and transcendental. In Diderot's dialectics, fundamental

philosophical and esthetic problems must be left open. Once they are systematized, once a non-scientific factor is advanced as a solution, the force and freedom of the intellect are hampered. Education, at least, must consist at its best in posing problems, not in relaying the neat answers of the past. Historically, too, systems live but for a day, like Fontenelle's rose, and the present generation is already not so sure that Kant is the eternal gardener. Locke still has his stout defenders. The aim of the French Enlightenment, at least, was to make man feel at home in the world as it is. If he is denied the absolute, he is at least left with intellectual curiosity, which may well be his boon and his salvation.

Unlike Cassirer's, the literary historian and critic's approach is extensive and detailed, based on the close reading of texts and directed toward different values. He will be all the more grateful for this intensive search for underlying principles and conceptual origins. Whether he agrees or not, his texts will take on new meanings. And he may also feel more content with his lot. He can accept Goethe's poetic truth on Diderot's grounds and derive esthetic pleasure from *Candide*, *Le Rêve de d'Alembert*, *Le Neveu de Rameau*, even *Le Dictionnaire philosophique*, without worrying about the methodological limitations and logical inconsistencies—transcendentally viewed—of their authors.

NORMAN L. TORREY

Columbia University

Profilo della critica su Italo Svevo (1892-1951). By Bruno Maier. Trieste: Editrice Università di Trieste, 1951. Pp. 112.

In spite of the fact that the revival of interest in the writings of Italo Svevo is a fairly recent phenomenon, more than four thousand articles and reviews dealing with the Triestine novelist have been published to date, according to information received from Signora Livia Veneziani Svevo. These, however, are almost exclusively distributed in literary reviews, little magazines, and newspapers often difficult to obtain. As one might suspect in such a case, many are often so uneven in quality and in importance, that a critical appraisal of their positive and substantial worth and contribution to the study of Italo Svevo is most welcome.

The scope of Dr. Maier's thesis, which was presented at the University of Trieste, is evident from the title. Not being able to peruse all the material on hand, the author, revealing great discernment, chose to discuss a carefully selected body of critical studies on Svevo down to the present time. By reason of the singularity of the work and the lack of any other bibliography critical or otherwise on the subject, he has made a valuable contribution which deserves serious consideration.

Dr. Maier devotes the first chapter of his study to the rise of Italo Svevo's fortune in literary circles. It is the story of a writer, who, severely criticized, unappreciated, or completely ignored even by his compatriots,

except for a few critics such as Pasini, rested in relative oblivion for over three decades, that is, from the publication of *Una Vita* (1892) to the appearance of Eugenio Montale's article in *L'Esame* (IV[1925], 804-813) and the second edition of *Senilità* (1927). Italo Svevo was an easy target for the critics: the impurities of his language resulting from his hybrid and peripheral background left him open to attacks on purely linguistic grounds, and more important, his analytical approach to the novel was disparagingly divergent and completely out of harmony with the established *verista* tradition which then prevailed in Italy. It should be interesting to note that today the most irrefutable and illuminating answer to the attacks of the latter group can be found in the following passage from Italo Svevo's diary recently made available (Livia Veneziani Svevo, *Vita de Mio Marito* [Trieste, 1950], p. 62):

Dicembre 1902 . . . Io, a quest'ora e definitivamente, ho eliminato dalla mia vita quella ridicola e dannosa cosa che si chiama letteratura. Io voglio soltanto attraverso queste pagine arrivare a capirmi meglio. L'abitudine mia di tutti gli impotenti di non saper pensare che con la penna in mano (come se il pensiero non fosse più utile e necessario al momento dell'azione) mi obbliga a questo sacrificio. Dunque ancora una volta, grezzo e rigido strumento, la penna m'aiuterà ad arrivare al fondo tanto complesso del mio essere.

In 1925 Eugenio Montale published his *omaggio* in *L'Esame*. It was at approximately the same time that Italo Svevo received consideration and recognition in France from Valéry Larbaud and Benjamin Crémieux, to both of whom he had been presented as the Italian Proust by their mutual friend, James Joyce. A hotly debated Italo-French polemic ensued over the priority of this discovery, to which Bruno Maier, imbued with a fiery chauvinism, devotes many pages.

In the core of his thesis, Dr. Maier traces the development of Svevo criticism to date, which mainly concerned itself with three fundamental problems: the relationship of the literary production to the autobiographical details they reflect, the question of language and style, and Italo Svevo's position in the history of literature. Fascinated by a purely chronological approach and intent on weaving a critical bibliography into a thrilling story, Dr. Maier discusses in detail the articles and reviews of Giacomo Debenedetti, Silvio Benco, Eugenio Montale, Crémieux, Sergio Solmi, Carlo Linati, and Elio Vittorini among others. He analyzes also the monographs of Federico Sternberg, Ferdinando Pasini, and Maria Punter, the pages devoted to Italo Svevo by Natalino Sapegno and Attiglio Momiigliano in their respective manuals of Italian literature, the linguistic studies of Giacomo Devoto, and finally the recent biography of Livia Veneziani Svevo, *Vita di Mio Marito* (see my review in *Italiana*, XXIX[1952], 61-63). It might be suggested that more emphasis should have been placed on the journals, such as *Solaria* and *Il Convegno*, which

by dint of dedicating special issues to Italo Svevo gave fresh impetus to the reappraisal and recognition of the Triestine novelist and thus succeeded in forming a circle of devotees among their contributors and younger readers, on whom Italo Svevo exerted considerable influence.

An unnecessarily nationalistic outlook (see author's comment, page 40) caused some serious limitations and contracted the scope of the study. It prohibited the author from evaluating material published outside of Italy. No doubt, an examination of the translations of his writings would have been patent and would have strengthened a study of the rise of Svevo's prestige. These in turn would also have disclosed to Dr. Maier the existence of two of the most important studies published in this country: the respective introductory essays of Renato Poggioli and Edouard Roditi to the American edition of the *Confessions of Zeno* and *As a Man Grows Older*, published by New Directions. Furthermore, there is much material scattered about in the little magazines of the United States, to mention only "The Mother" (*Accent*, X[1950], 185-189) and "This Indolence of Mine" (*Hudson Review*, IV[1952], 485-505) in the translation of Ben Johnson.

In the concluding chapter Bruno Maier attempts a synthesis of the author's artistic progress and development from *Una Vita* to *Senilità* to *Coscienza di Zeno*, but fails to take into consideration the relationship to the novels of Svevo's dramatic works and especially the *novelle* and many sketches such as the ones recently published by Umbro Appolonio in the volume entitled *Corto viaggio sentimentale*. In this same chapter he also alludes to the relationship and friendship of Italo Svevo to James Joyce, but he is not cognizant of the publication of the former's lecture on Joyce to the Convegno of Milan in 1927 (Milan, Officine Grafiche "Esperia" [for New Directions], 1950, translated by Stanislaus Joyce), the most personal and fruitful document we have, besides their correspondence, to elucidate this association.

The many hundreds of footnotes containing the bibliographical information, at times chaotically arranged and frequently repeated, incorporate more material on the subject than any other work to date. It is only regrettable that such a richly and profusely documented study should be marred by the complete absence of any bibliographical norm or index. It calls all the more urgently for a good study on Italo Svevo and his work.

KARL LUDWIG SELIG

University of Connecticut

Du Temps perdu au temps retrouvé. By Germaine Brée. Paris: "Les Belles Lettres" (Etudes Françaises, n° 44), 1950. Pp. 280.

Germaine Brée knows and understands her Proust. Her latest book is clearly a labor of love and as such is one of the most refreshingly sincere and penetrating Proust studies to have appeared in many years.

Mlle Brée goes directly to the text, reaches a close association with her subject and communicates her findings in a concise and lucid style. She does not subject us to tiresome haggling with fellow Proustians, she does not retrace the well-worn parts of Proust's life, she avoids the inevitable listing of Bergson parallels as she does, too, any additional researches on the "transposition of the sexes" theme.

From an excellent introductory chapter outlining Proust's chronology of composition and the content of each phase of the novel, one moves to a study of the narrator's evolution from the illusory world of Combray through the disenchantment of experience to the discovery of his vocation. A point is well taken here: the fact that Marcel's final revelation develops in a setting (Champs-Élysées, the Guermantes) from which he had been absent for many years. The very absence of these people and places from the thoughts and associations of the conscious mind prepares for the resurrection in the present of realities in past times. Like the involuntary memory, absence prepares, in Mlle Brée's terms, "cette synthèse dans l'immédiat d'un passé et d'un présent inaltérés par le mouvement" (page 53). The central theme of death—as the very essence of the *temps-horloge* and the condition of Marcel's vocation—is admirably treated in this chapter.

Mlle Brée's commentaries clarify some often neglected aspects of Proust. She develops convincingly the double nature of a work which is at once a novel of the external world subjected to individual judgment and the novel of the narrator's growing awareness of the recreative powers of his own life. She gives an original account of Proust's comic approach to his characters and their "essentielle naïveté qui s'oppose à la complexité machiavélique que souvent, étant oisifs, ils déploient dans leur comportement" (page 119). In all, a most satisfying development of Proust's "comédie humaine" although one cannot agree with Mlle Brée that Charlus and Jupien—who, after all, represent a not too universal aspect of the grotesque—will one day become the fictional peers of Pantagruel and Panurge. As for Marcel's final reaction to this human comedy, one must wait for the Guermantes matinée and that psychological dimension which will give him the key to the mystery of others. "Vécue ainsi de l'intérieur, la comédie humaine devient dans l'amour, drame, mais un drame que le temps se charge de transformer en anecdote" (page 149). There follows a most intelligent analysis of the love theme in Proust, its climate of suspicion and the Woman-image which, invariably, "pénètre dans une zone d'émotion préexistante, créée à partir d'une sensation esthétique" (page 169). The esthetic sensations of the *madeleine*, the hawthorn hedge, the Vinteuil septet, etc. are carefully developed as both a source of esthetic joy and, through their suggestive power, as the springboard for the intellectual experience of involuntary memory.

Mlle Brée's choice of "la vision poétique" as the foremost quality of Proust the novelist raises a debatable point. Too much has been said, she

argues, of Proust's gifts as an analyst and psychologist of human nature. Now it is quite obvious that Proust possessed unusual gifts of organisation, that he had an exceptional feeling for synthesis and harmony. Yet surely intellectual curiosity—his prime motivation—reinforced by the sharpest psychological insight and scientific deduction represents the great force of his novel. "Poetic vision" is the servant of form rather than content. It suggests an esthetic rather than an intellectual function. It is a unifying, regulating principle which, in Proust's case, enhances and transforms the author's impressions of lost time from the timeless, formless sweep of the *durée pure* into the ordered, logical perspective of the work of art. Whether Proust is analyzing the "cristallisation" of Swann's love, the disintegration of Charlus, the ambitions of Mme de Verdurin or the eccentricities of Tante Léonie, one is forever amazed at the penetration and subtlety of each individual portrait as such. Nor would the lack of a unifying thread destroy the power of such disconnected Proust themes as Music, Novel-writing, the Subconscious, Sexual Inversion, Death, and so forth. At the Guermantes reception in *Le Temps retrouvé*, poetic vision unfolds the great *coup de théâtre* and the apparently disparate elements fit into place. With a deft master touch, Proust fuses into a logical form the timelessness of memory and the objective presence of reality. Through poetic vision Proust reveals to the narrator his vocation as an artist and gives a sense and sequence to the narrative. Yet throughout the greater part of the novel the apparent disunity of this eventual whole in no way detracts from the strength and beauty of its countless unrelated parts. In brief, if Proust's artistic vision saves his narrator from nihilism by providing a reason to his narrative and thereby an esthetic and philosophic unity to the work, it is not absolutely vital to the reader's enjoyment and profit.

We of course appreciate such conscious signs of the craftsman's trade as order, clarity and the well-knit plot. But the real Proust is not there. He is rather the Proust of "la foi expérimentale", the man of curiosity and insight, the penetrating analyst of men and situations. But for the psychological curiosity and insight, there would be no past to regain, no vocation to discover. The poetic vision would have to mould the novel from a blank page and from empty experience.

JAMES C. McLAREN

The Johns Hopkins University

Bibliografía de la literatura hispánica. 2 vols. Por José Simón Díaz. Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, Instituto "Miguel de Cervantes" de filología hispánica, 1950-1951. Pp. 672 + 387.

Joaquín de Entrambasaguas in his Preface to the first volume of this work notes that its compiler hopes to produce an exhaustive guide to Spanish and foreign works that deal with the literature of Spain (including Catalan,

Basque, Galician and other regional literatures), Spain's former American and Oceanic (Philippines) colonies up to the time of their independence, Spain's African possessions as well as the literature of the judeo-españoles. Books, articles, even manuscripts and unpublished theses are to be noted. Reviews are listed of books and certain of the items are briefly annotated. Location of copies, chiefly in Spanish libraries, should be of great assistance to the student in Spain, though of less utility to those elsewhere.

It will be seen therefore that the scope of this bibliography is much larger than that of Homero Serís' *Manual de bibliografía de la literatura española* (reviewed in this journal by Professor D. W. McPheeters, XLI [1950], 232-234), yet it is impossible not to make comparisons between these two efforts and to bemoan the duplication that is involved. The first volume contains 4,506 entries and is devoted to a bibliography by country of literary histories, an analysis of collections containing Spanish classics, a listing of anthologies, folklore collections, general and special monographs, comparative literature divided into "influencias mutuas, influencia de otras literaturas en la castellana, España y la literatura castellana en las extranjeras." Similar divisions occur in the treatment of Catalan, Galician and Basque literature. The second volume contains 2,124 entries and is essentially a bibliography of bibliographies. Here are found a bibliography of bibliographies in the field of literature, general bio-bibliographies arranged by subjects, places and personal characteristics (anonyms, pseudonyms, religious orders), general bio-bibliographies of literature and other subjects, a list of indexes to periodical publications, history of printing. Each volume contains a list of errata, an appendix with additions; the first volume has an index of authors and anonymous literary works and an index of libraries; the second volume has indexes of authors, places, subjects and libraries.

Judging from these two volumes, I believe that this will become an indispensable reference work in the field of Hispanic literature. As a survey of the contents shows clearly, especially for the Hispanic world outside of Spain, it presents data not easily obtainable elsewhere in such compact form. For Spanish literature, however, students will probably want to use it along with the bibliography now being compiled by Professor Serís.

The chief deficiency in these two volumes, especially in Volume I, is in the scarcity of sub-divisions, except for those based on geographic considerations. Thus the 535 anthologies of the literature of the Iberian peninsula might profitably have been subdivided by genre rather than listed in alphabetical order by title. The comparative literature sections of 438 entries might have been subdivided by country, author or genres. The general and special monograph sections could have been subdivided by themes, genres, legends, journalism, etc. The second volume errs less in this respect as more thorough indexing assists the user in locating what he wants. One may occasionally disagree with the classification of entries.

Many entries under the general and special monograph sections of Volume I appear to be more suited to the history of printing or to the bio-bibliographic section of Volume II, as on the basis of title it is assumed that they deal directly either with the history of journalism or with the history of printing. Only one entry seems to have nothing to do with literature, printing history, journalism or folklore. That is entry 41 of Vol. II: Mary E. Mitchell's *Bibliography and Guide to Literature on Housing in Latin America*.

From the standpoint of thoroughness of coverage, and this does aim to be a comprehensive exhaustive bibliography, it would seem that one of the strongest sections is that listing the literary histories of the Iberian peninsula, where 404 entries appear, including articles in English encyclopedias on "Spanish literature" and "Spanish-American literature." Thus the articles on these subjects from the *Encyclopedia Britannica* appear, but not those from the *Encyclopedia Americana* and the *New International Encyclopedia*. More than 500 anthologies for the Iberian peninsula are arranged alphabetically by title, many of these are American textbook collections. The Hispanic-American portions of the bibliography are not as exhaustive; for example, reference to Pedro Grases, "Fuentes generales para el estudio de la literatura venezolana," *Revista de cultura nacional* (Caracas, no. 81, 1950) could double these items in regard to Venezuelan literature and reference to the bibliographical prologue by Grases in *Materiales para la historia del periodismo en Venezuela durante el siglo XIX* (Caracas, 1951) could increase ten-fold the entries on Venezuelan journalism. The outstanding sections of the second volume are those devoted to bio-bibliography (subjects, places and personal characteristics).

The weakest sections of the first volume are those that deal with the collections and comparative literature. It is very true that for Hispanic America an index to the masterpieces contained in the numerous literary series has long been a desideratum. This part of the bibliography therefore fills a real need, even though it lists only pre-independence writers. However, one notes the omission of the *Colección de crónicas españolas*, *Romanica Helvetica*, *Biblioteca Americana* (Mexico City), the several series published by the Hispanic Society of New York, *Elliott Monographs in the Romance Languages and Literatures* (Princeton), *University of Michigan Publications: Language and Literature*, *Yale Romanic Studies*, *Biblioteca espiritual*, *Biblioteca de escritores y asuntos venezolanos*. Omissions occur in certain of the collections listed: Bernal Díaz del Castillo's *Historia verdadera* . . . is omitted from the *Bibliotheca Gothemala*, and Vols. 30-32, 37-38, 56-58 of the *Colección de escritores mexicanos* clearly belong to this section, since these volumes contain works by colonial writers; Diego García de Palacio's *Diálogos militares* is included under *Colección de incunables americanos*, but his *Instrucción náutica para navegar* (Vol. VIII) is omitted. Despite these gaps, this section will serve as an admirable supplement and addition

to the second volume of the *Manuel de l'hispanisant*. The comparative literature section clearly shows that the compiler did not have access to certain rather standard bibliographies such as Giuseppe Prezzolini's four-volume *Repertorio bibliografico della storia e della critica della letteratura italiana* for the years 1902-1942 and the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (for example, entry 3993 is: "Schevill, R., 'On the influence of Spanish literature upon English in the early 17th century.' s.a. Pags. 603-634. 24cm." This entry can be completed from the *CBEL* by noting that it appeared in *Romanische Forschungen*, XX, 1907). It is doubtful if the bibliographies in the *Revue de Littérature Comparée* have been exhaustively exploited. Nor has the compiler been able to consult the *Bibliographic Index*. Had he done so, he would have added the lengthy and scholarly review by E. G. Mathews, *Journal of English and German Philology*, XLIV (1945) 387-424 to those listed for Pane's *English Translations from the Spanish* (entry 3970); Englekirk's "Obras norteamericanas en traducción española" (entry 3672) would be completed to read IX (1945), 125-166 and Øksnevad, Reidar, *Spania i norsk litteratur, en bibliografi* (Oslo, 1946, 30 pp.) would have been included here.

In Volume II one notes the lack of such bibliographical aids as the bibliographic supplement to the *ZRP*, the semi-annual *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, the annual "American bibliography" in *PMLA*, "Recent literature of the Renaissance," in *Studies in Philology*, the annual "Boletín de historia de la teología en el período 1500-1800," in *Archivo teológico granadino*, as well as J. N. Lincoln's "Guide to bibliographies of Spanish literature," *Hispania*, XXII (1939), 391-405. The use of Constance Winchell's *Guide to Reference Books* (Chicago, 1951) would complete and supplement at least twenty of the bibliographies listed.

Yet, regardless of the above criticisms, it is this reviewer's opinion that the present work is the most ambitious Romance literature bibliography undertaken in the last fifty years by one man. Forthcoming volumes will prove to be indispensable to the researcher in the fields, regions and chronological periods covered. This does not mean that in every case they will supplant existing material; but they will be an invaluable supplement. Scholars, who will long be indebted to this bibliography, may show their appreciation by sending to the compiler suggestions concerning omissions errors and errata. These will be gratefully received and all will benefit. As with the Seris volumes, the rest of this compilation will be eagerly awaited, studied and analysed for their many virtues.

HENSLEY C. WOODBRIDGE

Alabama Polytechnic Institute

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

1. All manuscripts should be typewritten and double-spaced with ample margins, and a wide space on top of the first page. All references and quotations should be checked before a manuscript is submitted for publication. Contributors should retain an accurate carbon copy.
2. Quotations in any language of ten or more typewritten lines will generally be printed in small roman as separate paragraphs (set-down matter). In the typescript such extracts should be in a separate paragraph, but double-spaced, and not enclosed in quotation marks; some clear device in the left margin should indicate that the material is to be set down.
3. Titles of books, poems, and periodicals will be italicized and should be underlined in the typescript. Titles of articles and chapters should be in roman enclosed in quotation marks.
4. In titles of English publications, in titles of periodicals in any language except German and in divisions of English works (parts, chapters, sections, poems, articles, etc.), the first word and all the principal words should be capitalized. Ex:
The Comedy of Errors
In the *Romanic Review* there appeared an article entitled "Flaubert's Correspondence with Louise Colet, Chronology and Notes."
Such a repetition may be found in the Preface. (But: James Gray wrote the preface for the second edition.)
5. In an English passage French titles should have the article capitalized and underlined as part of the title. Ex: He read *La France vivante*. In a French passage, the article should be neither capitalized nor underlined. Ex: Il a lu *la France vivante* et *l'Histoire de la littérature française* de Lanson.
6. In an English passage, French and Italian titles should be capitalized as follows. The first word is always capitalized. If a substantive immediately follows an initial article, definite or indefinite, it is also capitalized. If the substantive is preceded by an adjective, this also receives a capital letter. If the title begins with any other word than an article or an adjective, the words following are all in lower case. Ex: *Les Femmes savantes*; *La Folle Journée*; *L'Age ingrat*; *De la terre à la lune*; *Sur la piste*; *La Leda senza cigno*; *Scrittori del tempo nostro*; *I Narratori*; *Nell'azzurro*; *Piccolo Mondo antico*.
7. Spanish titles should have a capital only on the first word unless the title contains a proper noun. Ex: *Cantigas de amor e de maldizer*; *La perfecta casada*.
8. Words or phrases not in the language of the article, and not yet naturalized, will be italicized and should be underlined in the typescript. Consult Webster's dictionary if in doubt. Ex: *pièce à thèse*, *ancien régime*, *Zeitgeist*.
9. All quotations should correspond exactly with the original in wording, spelling, and punctuation. Words or phrases in quotations must not be italicized or underlined unless they are so in the original or unless it is indicated in a footnote that the italics have been added. Any interpolation in an extract should be indicated by enclosing it in brackets; any omission should be indicated by three periods. Ex: "It is this work [*Le Lys dans la vallée*] which . . ."; "Il est . . . absorbé par des travaux. . ."
10. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively throughout each article or book review. In the text the note number should be printed as a superior figure (slightly above the typed line); at the head of the note itself, it should be a figure of normal size followed by a period (on a level with the typed line). Ex: At eighteen, he moved to Paris.¹
 1. John Palmer, *Studies in the Contemporary Theatre*, p. 48.

11. Footnotes should be typed, double-spaced, and subjoined to the end of the text, on separate pages.
12. Note numbers in the text always follow the punctuation. Ex: There is no question as to the date of this edition.² As Flaubert stated,¹ he was willing to. . .
13. Short references, included in the text to save footnotes, should be enclosed in parentheses and should not contain abbreviations. In book reviews this is often the easiest way to make a direct reference to the work which is being reviewed. Ex: In the Introduction (page 10), the author remarks....
14. Names should never be abbreviated. Even the name of the author of a work which is being reviewed should be written out each time that it is used.
15. All footnotes must begin with a capital letter and end with a period or some other final punctuation. Each note should contain an exact reference to the page or pages in question; the title is rarely enough. If a footnote refers to the same title cited in the preceding note, 'ibid.' should be used to avoid repeating the title. If a note refers to a work already cited, but not cited in the preceding footnote, 'op.cit.' should be used for a book, 'loc.cit.' for an article. Such abbreviations should not ordinarily be used to refer farther back than the preceding page. Since the aim, however, is merely to avoid ambiguity, no rule need be laid down. Ex:
 10. Joseph Bédier, *Les Légendes épiques*, I, 52.
 11. Roger S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, p. 90.
 12. Ibid., pp. 96-97.
 13. W. A. Nitze, "Lancelot and Guenevere," *Speculum*, VIII, 240.
 14. Loomis, op. cit., p. 131.
 15. Nitze, loc. cit., p. 249.
16. In the citation of references the amount of bibliographical detail is left to the discretion of the contributor, but the order of the items should be presented as indicated below. Inclusion of items (3), (4), and (5) is optional with the contributor.

In the case of books cited, the form of reference should be as follows: (1) author's name, preceded by his first name or initials, (2) the title italicized (underlined), (3) where necessary, the edition, (4) place of publication, (5) name of publisher, (6) date of publication, (7) reference to volume in capital roman numerals without preceding 'Vol.' or 'V.', (8) reference to page in arabic numerals, preceded by 'p.' or 'pp.' only when there is no preceding reference to volume. Note the following examples for punctuation; the last item should always be followed by a period:

Albert Thibaudet, *Histoire de la littérature française de 1789 à nos jours* (Paris: Stock, 1936), p. 60.
 H. O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind*, 4th ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1925), II, 221, 225.
17. Reference to periodicals should include, wherever possible, volume number and page number or numbers. Where it is desirable to give the year or month also, it should follow the volume number, in parentheses. When it is impossible to give a volume number, the date of the issue should take its place. Ex:

La Nouvelle Revue Française, II (1909), 224.
Les Nouvelles Littéraires, 30 juillet 1932, p. 8.
18. The following periodicals should be abbreviated as follows in footnotes:

CL—Comparative Literature
 FR—French Review
 Hisp.—Hispania
 HR—Hispanic Review
 Ital.—Italica
 JHI—Journal of the History of Ideas
 Lang.—Language
 MLF—Modern Language Forum
 MLJ—Modern Language Journal
 MLN—Modern Language Notes
 MLQ—Modern Language Quarterly
 MLR—Modern Language Review
 MP—Modern Philology
 MS—Medieval Studies
 PMLA—Publications of the Modern Language Association

PQ—Philological Quarterly
 R—Romania
 Ren.—Renaissance
 RHL—Revue d'Histoire Littéraire
 de la France
 RLC—Revue de Littérature Com-
 parée
 RP—Romance Philology
 RR—Romanic Review
 SP—Studies in Philology
 YFS—Yale French Studies
 ZFSL—Zeitschrift für französische
 Sprache und Literatur
 ZRP—Zeitschrift für romanische
 Philologie

19. The following words and abbrevia-
 tions will appear in roman type and
 should not be underlined in type-
 script. They should be capitalized
 only when they begin a footnote: ca.
 (about, in dates), cf., e.g. (for in-
 stance), et al. (and others), f., ff.
 (following), fol., foll. (folio, folios),

ibid. (not ib. or idem., the same refer-
 ence), i.e. (that is), l. ll. (line, lines),
 loc. cit. (place cited), op. cit. (work
 cited), p., pp., passim (here and
 there), sic (thus), s.v. (sub voce,
 under the word), vs. (verse, versus),
 vss. (verses), viz., vol., vols. Mme
 and Mlle, MS and MSS should be
 typed without periods.

20. Headings for book reviews should
 follow these models:

Jules Sandeau, l'homme et la vie. Par
 Mabel Silver. Paris: Boivin, 1936.
 Pp. 247.

*A History of French Dramatic Liter-
 ature in the Seventeenth Century.* By
 Henry Carrington Lancaster. Bal-
 timore: The Johns Hopkins Press.
Part I (1610-1634), 2 vols., 1929.
 Pp. 785. *Part II* (1635-1651), 2 vols.,
 1932. Pp. 804. *Part III* (1652-1672),
 2 vols., 1936. Pp. 896.

